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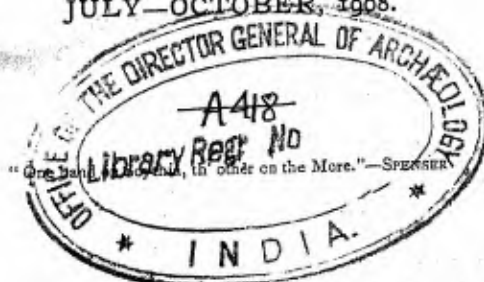
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THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1908.

LANCASHIRE AND INDIA IN THEIR RELATION TO IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE overwhelming defeat of the Unionist and Tariff Reform party in the General Election of 1906 was largely, and perhaps primarily, due to the revolt of Lancashire. That revolt has been sometimes attributed to the effect of certain mendacious figments about "Chinese slavery," which Mr. Winston Churchill, who won a great Radical victory, for the moment, in North-West Manchester, subsequently admitted to be "terminological inexactitudes." But by far the most potent reason for the revolt of Lancashire was an equally mendacious, but much more plausible, figment in regard to the possible or probable effect of Imperial Preference in India on the export trade of Lancashire. That this mendacious figment is a plausible one is shown by the remarkable fact that it was adopted, in various forms, by a large number of public men whom no one would for a moment suspect of conscious mendacity—not only by all the Radical candidates for Lancashire constituencies, but also by other great Radical authorities, such as Lord Cromer and Sir James Mackay. The figment has been dished up again in a new guise, since the crushing defeat of Mr. Churchill the other day in North-West Manchester proved that the level-headed men of Lancashire had seen through the palpable

absurdity of its cruder presentment. It is now represented as being in accordance with the "statesmanlike and Imperial views of the late Lord Salisbury"—though Lord Salisbury, in his speech at Manchester on October 10, 1879, stigmatized the so-called "Free Trade," which we have forced on India at the point of the bayonet, as "this fetish-worship of a set of doctrines that are called Free Trade, but which are not Free Trade!" In the Preferential debate in the House of Lords on May 20 and 21, 1908, this is how Lord Cromer furbished up the ancient Cobdenite figment :

"In 1882, when I was on the Viceroy's Council, the cotton duties in India were taken off. The reason for that act was not that we thought that Free Trade would be a good thing for India, but because we wished to get rid of a subject of discussion in which it was said that the interests of India and England clashed. If such a system as that now advocated is adopted in this country, will it be possible to maintain the present system in India without the imposition of an Excise duty? Certainly not. I ask anyone who has considered recent events whether it would be wise at the present time to add to the unrest by raising again this very serious and difficult question."

And Lord Crewe, following in the same Cobdenite track, put it somewhat more distinctly :

"There is another fear which comes even more home to us here, and that is that if we set out on this career of Preference, India may be in a position to force a new system on us, or, rather, to engage in a new system to our detriment. If we abandon the position of Free Trade, I confess I do not see how and in what case you could possibly refuse to permit India to place on duties even against our own commodities."

Here we have, stated in a few plain and intelligible words, the demonstrably absurd and impossible bogey that—not

unnaturally, when we consider the high authority with which it was put forward—frightened Lancashire into revolt in 1906.

It was fortunate that Lord Curzon—who had held in India a higher position than even Lord Cromer, who was Lord Ripon's Finance Minister—was able to take part in the debate, for he absolutely pulverized the nonsensical notion that India would, in any conceivable circumstances, "force a new system on us, or, rather, engage in a new system to our detriment." On the contrary, he showed, by an elaborate historical argument, that it had always been the other way on—that India had always been compelled to submit too much to the wishes of England. And subsequently, in a most powerful and convincing letter to the *Times* of June 2 last, Lord Curzon has elaborated this point. He has shown how effective and far-reaching have been the agitations organized by Mr. W. Tattersall and his friends among the manufacturers of Lancashire to insist on what they call "Free Trade" in India—that is, to force India either (1) to admit foreign protected and subsidized goods, equally with British unprotected goods, free of duty, or else (2) to impose the inquisitorial and extortionate Excise duty on the unprotected products of Indian mills to the full extent of any import duty.

Lord Cromer's own action in 1882, in completing, on this footing, the "Free Imports" policy which he had begun under Lord Northbrook in 1875, has undoubtedly produced greater resentment in India and more chronic unrest—especially when followed in 1894 by Lord Elgin's very partial Excise duties—than almost any other measure of our Government in India. I assert positively—and I challenge Lord Cromer to contradict the statement—that throughout the length and breadth of India there has never been a single prominent politician of Indian birth who has publicly approved of his "Free Trade" measures. There has hardly been a single political meeting in India of any importance—including the annual meetings of the National Congress and



similar meetings—without resolutions being unanimously passed in bitter opposition to free imports and Excise duties. From Lord Cromer's Act to the present day every Indian journal of any standing, without a single exception, has vehemently and continuously protested against this policy. So that it really seems a little audacious to suggest that a Preferential system—which would maintain import duties on foreign goods, and would frankly purchase the free admission of British goods by the abolition of the Excise duties and by reciprocal British concessions to Indian products—would irritate the Indians more than the present "whole-hog" system of Free Imports, or Excise duties to countervail customs.

Of course, it is quite true that India, if she had an entirely free hand, would undoubtedly protect herself against all imports, whether British or foreign—for Indians are, like most of the rest of the world, intensely Protectionist. But surely half a loaf is better than no bread. Under Imperial Preference she would get some protection for her industries, though not as much as she would like; but under the present system she gets absolutely none. With what reason, then, can Lord Cromer and Lord Crewe suggest that the change to Imperial Preference would be an unpopular one in India? On the facts that I have stated, the suggestion that it might cause resentment, or further "unrest," is, on the face of it, preposterous.

I might quote every Indian journal or review of standing to confirm what I have said; indeed, the only opposition in India comes from one or two almost unknown European journalists in Calcutta. From the mail that has reached me while writing these remarks I will quote two passages from the very clever *Wednesday Review* of Trichinopoly, that is edited by that distinguished publicist, Mr. Raja Ram. This is what that review said on May 13, 1908:

"The British policy is stated with engaging frankness by Mr. William Tattersall, that 'while India is our dependency she will continue to be governed by

our traditional policy of Free Trade,' which is only an euphemistic way of stating, as pointed out by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta on the occasion of the imposition of Excise duties, 'that the infant industries should be strangled in their birth if there is the remotest suspicion of their competing with English manufactures.' It is a most one-sided, cruel, and mischievous policy which, in the name of Free Trade, Great Britain has been pursuing in India."

In the same article the able editor frankly admits that he would prefer to have absolute Protection; but he very wisely adds that, as that is impossible, he would prefer Imperial Preference to the one-sided system that is known as Free Trade. These are the words with which he concludes his article:

"The Excise duties are a cruel wrong imposed by senselessness and folly, as they cripple the only staple manufacturing industry of India. It is needless to state here that India is intensely Protectionist, a fact known to Sir Henry Fowler, Mr. John Morley, and every other statesman who has had anything to do with her, and what she requires is neither Free Trade nor Imperial Preference, but complete autonomy to regulate her own fiscal policy. India would retain the import duties on British cotton goods while abolishing the Excise; but between the present policy and the removal of both the duties, THE CHOICE WOULD FALL ON THE LATTER, which is the lesser of the two evils."

I could quote equally strong condemnation of Lord Cromer's principles from the *Hindoo Patriot* of Calcutta, edited by that representative journalist, Mr. Sarvadhikari; from the *Indian Mirror*, edited by the veteran Mr. Norendro Nath Sen; from the *Mysore Review*, edited by Mr. Ramanujan; and, indeed, from every other Indian journal of repute. But it is unnecessary to further elabo-

rate the point; for, though Cobdenite writers like Mr. W. Tattersall, and Cobdenite speakers like Lord Cromer, Lord Crewe, and Sir James Mackay, choose to ignore the fact that India hates their so-called "Free Trade," still, it is quite impossible for any one of them to come out into the open and publicly deny its truth.

It was Sir James Mackay, in his Cobdenite address to the Imperial Conference, as the "representative" of India, on May 2, 1907, who formulated, clearly and definitely, the absurd figment that has played such an important part in Lancashire politics. This is what he said on the subject:

"There is a considerable amount of feeling in India in favour of affording protection to the industries of the country by means of the tariff—a feeling which is encouraged by the example of the self-governing colonies, and which finds expression in recurring agitation for the repeal of the Excise duty on the cotton manufactures of Indian mills. Hitherto it has been possible to reply to proposals of this nature that India is definitely committed to the policy of the greatest possible freedom in its foreign trade, as being on the whole most favourable to the industrial development of the country. If, however, the principle of differential treatment of British imports for the benefit of the United Kingdom and other members of the Empire is introduced, with its concomitant risks and sacrifices, into the Indian tariff system, the change might be regarded as implying the abandonment of a tariff for revenue purposes only. The claim would probably be made that if India is to fall into line with the Colonies in this matter, it should also be allowed to imitate their example in developing its own industries by the imposition of protective duties, such as are levied by self-governing Colonies, on goods imported from the United Kingdom."

And what skilful use has been made of this utterly unreasonable and impossible figment in Lancashire elections was naïvely shown by a letter of Mr. Alfred Mond, M.P., the Radical member for Chester, in the *Manchester Courier* of August 12, 1907. Mr. Mond wrote:

"I wish particularly to draw the attention of Lancashire manufacturers to the statement that the whole of India is intensely Protectionist. This confirms Sir James Mackay's statement before the Conference that it would be difficult to maintain the revenue tariff of India if we abandoned our Free Trade policy in England, and that India would want Protection for her manufacturers against England."

Now, I venture very respectfully to express the hope—as it is shown by Mr. Mond's letter that Sir James Mackay's unfounded statement is being used in Lancashire, as it was in Mr. Churchill's Manchester election, to prevent the inclusion of India in any Imperial scheme of Preferential Tariffs—that that statement will be definitely and officially withdrawn. For Lord Curzon, in his letter to the *Times* of June 2, has proved beyond the possibility of contradiction—what every politician connected with India knows as positive facts—(1) that India now "claims," as vehemently as she can ever "claim," to have more Protection for her industries than she enjoys; and (2) that it is absolutely futile to pretend that, under any conceivable circumstances whatever, the British Parliament is ever likely to allow any Viceroy or any Secretary of State to protect Indian industries against British goods.

I venture to repeat, with all due respect and deference, that those contentions of Lord Curzon represent hard, positive facts which cannot be unknown to Sir James Mackay, Lord Cromer, Lord Crewe, Mr. Mond, or Mr. W. Tattersall. For the former of the two contentions Lord Curzon vouches his own experience when Viceroy, and



even Mr. Tattersall will hardly deny that the people of India, finding their industries ruthlessly denied all fiscal protection, are very generally taking the matter into their own hands by a religious and social boycott of all imported goods, both those of the protected and subsidized foreigner and; unhappily, those of the Lancashire manufacturer. And as to the second of the above-recited contentions, it is not only a matter of common knowledge, but it was also stated in terms in the tenth section of the Preferential Despatch of the Government of India of October 22, 1903.

All the "Free Traders" to whom I have referred allege that the reason we now give to the Indians for refusing to allow them even the smallest modicum of Protection is that we, the dominant race, are of opinion that what we call "Free Trade" is best for them, and that therefore they are to be treated as foolish children, and forced to accept "Free Trade." Now, I venture to ask Lord Cromer and Sir James Mackay and their Cobdenite friends, do they really believe that this is treating Indian public opinion with fair or even decent respect? The debates in the various Indian Legislative Councils, and the Indian magazines and reviews, show beyond question that India possesses political economists quite as learned and quite as acute as any that have been trained at our British Universities; and to a man these Indian economists either jeer at Cobdenite Free Trade as fetish-worship, or despise it as the hypocritical excuse for demanding free entry for Lancashire goods. It is true that at present the only way in which Indian public opinion can assert itself is by the religious and social boycott of all imported goods, British as well as foreign. But do Lord Cromer, Lord Crewe, and Sir James Mackay really maintain that it is well that this sort of thing should go on? They do not take up this attitude towards the self-governing Colonies. Can they honestly maintain it against India?

They may say, "Well, but what is the alternative?"

And they may even, with blind perversity, affect to believe that the only alternative is the absolutely unthinkable one of mutual hostile tariffs between England and India—unthinkable, because every intelligent person knows that such a system would at one blow destroy British manufacturing supremacy.

Tariff Reformers say that there is another alternative—Imperial Preference—honourable alike to England and to India, that will at once not only remove all these heart-burnings, but will also immensely stimulate the industries of both countries. And now that there is a chance of the advantages of this honourable alternative being fairly placed before Lancashire and India, I feel certain that the common-sense of both countries will agree that such a compromise—which protects neither against the other, but helps both against the dumping foreigner—ought at once to be adopted.

For let us examine for a moment what from the purely practical point of view would be the exact effect of the substitution of Imperial Preference for so-called "Free Trade"—(1) in the case of the Lancashire manufacturer, and (2) in the case of the Indian.

1. The Lancashire manufacturer would no longer be met at Bombay, or Calcutta, or Karachi, or Rangoon, by Custom-house officers demanding  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty on all their manufactured cotton goods. The manufacturers of Bradford, Nottingham, Leicester, Northampton, Wolverhampton, and other industrial centres, would no longer be met at those ports by similar demands for 5 per cent. duty *ad valorem*. On the contrary, they would be welcomed as British citizens, free to trade in ports of the British Empire. And as revenue considerations would necessitate the retention of the duties on goods manufactured in Germany and other protected countries, British merchants would find that at last once more they are treated in the markets of the Empire on terms that would to some extent neutralize the immense advantages now possessed by the protected

and subsidized foreigner, and give all commerce a fair and equal chance. And while British industry, and especially Lancashire industry, would thus be hugely benefited by the remission of the duties, the Indian consumers of cotton and other manufactured goods would benefit in a proportionate rate, their purchasing power would be enormously increased, and the consumption would advance by leaps and bounds.

And what is the price—the only price—that the United Kingdom would have to pay India for these marvellous advantages? It is this: that we should have to remit some or all of our taxation on Indian tea, Indian tobacco, Indian sugar, and other useful commodities; and every English household would feel the benefit of these remissions. Every economist, whether Cobdenite or Tariff Reformer, is agreed that these British import duties on Indian products are in the main paid by the British working-class consumers, though they also injure the Indian producers at the same time. So that it is obvious that their reduction or abolition would be valuable both to India and to England.

2. When you turn to the Indian side of the question, the benefits of Imperial Preference to the mills of Bombay and Calcutta, as well as to the producers throughout India, would be no less marked. Their markets in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and even in the long-run in foreign countries, would be greatly enlarged by the free play of reciprocity and retaliation. And, of course, they would be instantly freed from the odious Excise duties as soon as Lancashire was free from the import duties—and that alone would be sufficient of itself to make Imperial Preference popular in India, not, indeed, as an alternative to pure Protection, which all Indians would prefer, but as an alternative to so-called "Free Trade," which they not unreasonably detest.

And here, in passing, it is only fair and right that I should mention that a high authority of Indian birth—

Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., the distinguished Bengal civilian—has recently written to the *Times* to combat my view that Imperial Preference would be popular in India. But he bases his objection on the very ground—which I have always fully admitted—that his compatriots, being Protectionists, would much prefer to have their Excise duties abolished, and all the import duties, including those on British as well as on foreign goods, maintained in the Indian fiscal system. And I cannot help thinking that he would probably agree with me that, if this full measure of unalloyed Protection be entirely impossible and outside practical politics—as it certainly is—then the Indian public would prefer the modified Protection they would enjoy under Imperial Preference to the so-called “Free Trade” system that involves the maintenance of these Excise duties. This is obviously a matter of common sense, even if Free Trade with the rest of the British Empire, and some slight Protection against the foreigner, be regarded from the purely Protectionist point of view, as the *Wednesday Review* very candidly puts it, as only the lesser of two evils. For it is obvious that the competition between British manufacturers and Indian manufacturers would be absolutely unaltered; they would both remain on a fair and equal level as now, and both would gain a slightly better chance in the competition with the manufacturers of all the rest of the world.

Mr. Dutt well knows how extremely unpopular the Excise duties are in India, and even in the letter in which he opposes the only chance of getting them abolished he speaks of them as “unheard of in any other civilized country.” He can remember the great meeting of his fellow-countrymen held to protest against the policy at the time of their imposition, when the late Maharajah Sir Jotindro Mohan Tagore, who was in the chair as the leader of the Hindu community, said that “hardly do I remember another instance in which such intensity and unanimity of feeling has prevailed among all the different sections of the



community." That was in the Town Hall of Calcutta, at a time when Mr. Dutt was himself a Bengal official. And even in the House of Commons—in the debate of February 21, 1895, on the motion of Lord James (then Sir Henry James, M.P. for Bury in Lancashire)—the odious nature of these Excise duties was dwelt upon. Lord Wolverhampton (then Mr. Fowler) complained that in India he was called "the Secretary of State for Lancashire, not the Secretary of State for India," while at the same time one of the greatest Lancashire journals said that "the conspiracy of the Indian Service, the Indian cotton trade, and Mr. Fowler had succeeded!" And the Indian Secretary of State, thus attacked on both sides, said: "I do not know whether hon. gentlemen have read the debates in the Indian Legislative Council upon this question . . . the very able arguments by distinguished Anglo-Indians and more distinguished natives against the imposition of Excise duties at all." Mr. Barlow, M.P., said in the same debate that "he could bear testimony to the fact that, much as this matter was disliked in Lancashire, the action of the Government was quite as much disliked in India with reference to the countervailing duties."

In that debate of 1895 the late Mr. Hanbury, M.P. for Preston in Lancashire, made an extremely strong point when he declared that the Indian import duties must certainly become protective against Lancashire, for the following reason:

"It was because countervailing Excise duties were so illogical that it was impossible they could last. While the import duties would remain, he did not believe the Excise duties would last. Why make an exception as to these Excise duties? He believed that the cost of the collection of these Excise duties would be almost as great as the amount they would produce."

In the same debate of 1895 the Right Hon. George Whiteley (lately the Chief Whip of Mr. Asquith's Govern-

ment, and a leading Member for Lancashire) pointed out that, in the preceding decade, while the looms employed in the English cotton manufacture had only increased by 5 per cent., those on the Continent had increased by 19 per cent., and those in the United States by 20 per cent.!

And the view of the Member for Preston, quoted above, that the odious Indian Excise duties were not calculated to correct the injury done to Lancashire by the import duties, was strongly emphasized by Lord George Hamilton, who said of Sir Henry Fowler's contention :

"The right hon. gentleman had also said that he had safeguarded the interests of Lancashire by the imposition of an Excise duty. But had he really done what he thought? For his part, he disbelieved altogether in the efficiency of an Excise duty for the purpose. The opinion of those who considered this question twenty years ago was that the imposition of Excise duties in India could not be viewed as a satisfactory method of taxation, and the reason was that in India there was not a reliable official machinery for the purposes of investigation and taxation. Judging from the experience supplied by the past, he held that there was very little likelihood of this proposed Excise duty being enforced and fulfilling the purpose for which it was intended."

Again, on August 13, 1903, Mr. Shackleton, M.P., the very able and fair-minded Labour Member for the Clitheroe division of Lancashire, when moving the repeal of the cotton duties, made the following important pronouncement on the part of the cotton operatives of Lancashire :

"The cotton trade were not adopting a selfish attitude. They desired that India should be relieved of the Excise duties, that they should compete on fair terms, that the tax on the industry there should be removed at the same time as it was removed from the industry here, and that the other trades in this country

which exported goods to India should be relieved of this burden. The financial difficulty to meet which the duties had been imposed had disappeared ; therefore the duties ought also to disappear."

The quotations I have here made from the speeches of quite representative Lancashire men show conclusively that Lancashire—while clearly, and rightly, concerned for the future of her great staple industry—is by no means desirous of imposing on India the unjust disability of an Excise duty. These speeches, in the broad liberality of their views, contrast favourably with the somewhat one-sided selfishness of Mr. W. Tattersall on the one hand, and of Mr. Romesh Dutt on the other. That broad liberality which would mete out exactly equal treatment to Lancashire and to India in the matter of these duties is in the spirit of Imperial Preference, and the quotation I have given from the representative Indian journal, the *Wednesday Review*, shows that an equally liberal spirit distinguishes many of the most enlightened of our Indian fellow-subjects, who ask for justice to India, but not for injury to Lancashire.

One of the ablest Indian writers of the present day, Mr. S. M. Mitra—a Calcutta gentleman, who was an eminent journalist in Hyderabad, and now resides in London—takes this view, though on the general question he regards himself as a "Free Trader." In the very clever book entitled "Indian Problems," which Mr. John Murray has recently brought out for Mr. Mitra, this distinguished authority says :

"India is not quite fairly treated. The United Kingdom levies duties on India's tea, coffee, tobacco, and unrefined sugar. Her duty on Indian coffee is about 19 per cent. *ad valorem*, while on Indian tea it is as much as 90 per cent. Her duty on Indian tobacco is not *ad valorem*, but being imposed according to weight, it operates severely on her tobacco, which is all of the

cheaper varieties. If, in accordance with the general foreign system of tariffs, the United Kingdom were to impose a reasonable duty on synthetic indigo as a chemical compound, while admitting natural indigo free as a raw material, it would benefit India enormously. . . . The Empire consists of about 400,000,000 people, out of which number the 300,000,000 in India are, unlike the people of Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, not connected with Great Britain by ties of blood, or of speech, or of religious or social affinity. It is, therefore, most desirable that the fiscal tie between Great Britain and India should be most effective as the bond of Empire. Economic unity is essential to the unity of defence. . . . The commercial supremacy of England in India has hitherto been practically unassailed, but now Germany and Japan are making successful inroads. . . . The trade of India is not so safe now as it was ten years ago. The Congress of Havana is trying to kill the rice trade of India in the interests of the rice-growers of Texas and Louisiana. England must keep pace with the great industrial competition for the Indian trade. England might well make an effort in self-defence against German and Japanese trade encroachment. The competition is no doubt keen, but there is no reason to despair. England enjoys advantages in India to which neither Germany nor Japan can ever aspire. England has, in a way, paid for India with English lives, and therefore in the industrial development of India she has a better claim than any other nation. . . . The relations between England and India must be that of close co-operation. Commercial England must adapt herself to the new phase of her commercial position. Commercial contact leads to political unification. . . . If, again, nothing is done, it will be found that Germany, and possibly Japan, will, not gradually, but by leaps and bounds, filch

away the trade which should legitimately belong to England. No one wants to assume the part of a Cassandra, but the figures of the Indian trade are undeniable, and are full of warning."

Surely this is the spirit in which we should all, Indians and Englishmen alike, approach this great Imperial question. That spirit was admirably voiced by the late Lord Goschen, at that time the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, in the Lancashire debate of 1895. Mr. Goschen then said :

"Now, I should have wished that even at this last moment it would have been possible to effect, I will not say a compromise, but something in the nature of an armistice, for the sake of negotiations which should be carried on. Is it really beyond the limits of the statesmanship of India and this country combined to find no other alternative than these import duties? and should it not be possible to deal otherwise with Indian finance than by bringing about this serious antagonism which we all so much regret? Whatever may be the result of the division to-night—whether the Government succeed or whether they do not—I think that this debate ought to be followed by an endeavour on the part of the Government to see whether they cannot bring Indian opinion and Manchester opinion closer together."

And Mr. Ernest Beckett (now Lord Grimthorpe) aptly observed in the same debate :

"If England were entitled to demand free entry of her goods into India, India was equally entitled to demand free entry of her goods into England."

On the same occasion the late Sir William Harcourt declared :

"I should most deeply regret if the vote of the House of Commons was to establish a feeling of irritation between Lancashire and India."



And Lord George Hamilton stated, in the speech from which I have already quoted, that the late Lord Salisbury had arrived at the conclusion that these import duties ought to be abolished, on the ground that their imposition was "a subject of dangerous contention."

And yet this "subject of dangerous contention" has been foolishly allowed to survive to the present day! Mr. Romesh Dutt and his Indian friends, to a man, demand that the Excise duties should be abolished, because such duties are unheard of in the Colonies, or in any other civilized community. But they would retain the import duties on Lancashire cotton goods—Mr. Dutt suavely says "for revenue purposes"! On the other hand, Lord Cromer and Mr. W. Tattersall and Sir James Mackay hotly declare that the Excise duties must be retained "for Free Trade purposes" so long as the import duties are retained "for revenue purposes." Even Mr. Romesh Dutt would hardly deny that the abolition of the Excise duties and the retention of the import duties would spell ruin to Lancashire and Scotland. As a frank and honest Protectionist, and an ardent advocate of "Swadeshi," his proviso, in the letter to the *Times*, that the import duties on Lancashire goods would be "for revenue purposes" does not seem to carry much weight. And it certainly ought not to be pressed in India, to the great detriment of Lancashire and other parts of the Empire, at the very moment when the Government is sacrificing the great Opium revenue in order to satisfy the "righteousness" of some very well-meaning, but rather fanatical, persons in England. As Mr. Winston Churchill, now the Liberal President of the Board of Trade, very aptly put it in the debate of 1903: "What a little thing this is to cause so much disturbance, irritation, and inconvenience to the trade—the whole yield of the duty to the Indian exchequer was only £667,000 a year!" And he wisely added: "The removal of the restriction of the importation of cotton would stimulate the purchasing power

of the great home market of India, and that ought to be the first concern of statesmen."

To sum up. The proposals of Mr. Dutt and the Protectionists are obviously impossible, and outside practical politics. The so-called "Free Trade" policy of Lord Cromer and Sir James Mackay would keep open the sore of the Excise duties, or else rob India of the revenue derived from the import duties without offering her, on the part of England, any adequate compensation. The frank adoption of Imperial Preference will close for ever these "dangerous contentions" by abolishing both the offending duties; while India will find abundant compensation, not only in the emancipation of her cotton industry from offensive and inquisitorial restrictions, not only in cheaper cotton for her consumers and a better market for her producers, but also in free entry for her products in every port of the British Empire. Lancashire and India will alike benefit, and benefit largely and immediately. Under so-called "Free Trade" the interests and sentiments of England and of India are always and continually in strong conflict, as shown by the fact that Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Charles Schwann, and the Liberal M.P.'s of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, are "Free Traders" in Nottingham and Manchester, and uncompromising Protectionists in Calcutta and Bombay! But under Imperial Preference Indians and Britons will practically belong to one great fiscal unit, and will constitute a homogeneous commercial community of common interests, far more important, when allied with the Colonies, than all the rest of the world put together.

## THE INDIAN FRONTIER QUESTION.

BY MAJOR A. G. LEONARD.

THE news that fighting had again broken out on the Indian frontier, and that many of the frontier tribes are rallying round the raiding Mohmands, as round a fighting centre, is not in the least surprising. For the punishment recently meted out to the refractory Zakka Kheyls by Sir James Willcocks' force was of no more consequence or example to these fierce and ferocious bordermen than water poured on to the sleeky smoothness of the duck's back, even though it be at boiling-point. To unravel the tangle of this ever-recurring frontier question is about as difficult a matter as it was for the ancients to untie the Gordian knot. Nor is it seemingly possible for even an Alexander to solve the problem by cutting the knot in twain. It is just possible that John Nicholson, with his sterling strength and purity of character, his strong moral sense of equity and natural sympathy, and the wondrous magnetism of his unique personality, that exercised an influence so potent among these rude warriors as to develop in some cases into adoration, might have done so. But it was fated not to be. To this day these tribesmen remain as turbulent and as refractory, as strong and as unconquered, as when first we took possession of the frontier that lies between the country of the Five Rivers and the great mountain tract of Afghanistan.

Split up into tribes or clans, these bordermen recognise no authority but that of their own chiefs and patriarchs. The authority of the Amir of Afghanistan over them is but as an unsubstantial shadow that is cast by flitting and fleeting clouds. Nor with all our power and great resources have we any more authority over them than the Amir. The deep thunder of our artillery and the sharp rattle of our musketry have no fears for these brawny mountaineers. At the most our authority is but a bogie or a scarecrow.

Its growl has no terrors for them ; its bite but makes them more savage and reckless than they are. Without any hesitation they bite back. Measure for measure, a life for a life, is their creed. To them war is but a pastime—a raid and a fight is the breath of life. It is in their blood and in their souls. Death has no horrors for these Muslim fanatics. On the contrary, if they can but kill the infidel, it is welcome, for the pleasures and glories of Paradise and its houris are worth the sacrifice. Brave, fearless, and intrepid to a degree, these men, like all born fighters, are, at the same time, artful and cunning, making use of every stratagem and taking advantage of every piece of cover. Such is the stuff, or, rather mettle, they are made of. Add to this a magnificent physique and the description is complete. It requires no great acumen to understand even from the above brief but pithy outline how really difficult a task it is to subdue a heterogeneous amalgam of communities such as is represented by these tribes. This becomes even easier when we know the country. Mountainous as this is on a really large scale, the nature of it is even more difficult to contend against than the people. It is as impregnable and as impossible as they—a scale that teems with contrasts. Gigantic on the one hand, with frowning and impassable obstacles ; yet overrun with hollows and shallows, mere seeming trivialities, that defy even the double-handed dexterity of human art and diplomacy. It is the old story of environment over again, the truism that like heeds like. Such it was years and years ago. Such it is to-day, and at this very moment.

It is interesting, and at times instructive, to look back upon the past. Indeed, more often than not we learn more from the past than we do from the present. It may be remembered that in the year 1878 the Earl of Beaconsfield, who was at the head of affairs in this country, was very much imbued with the spirit of a great and Imperial policy. To carry out this idea he sent out Lord Lytton to India as Viceroy. Affairs between Great Britain and Russia were



at the time in a state of great uncertainty. War was quite on the cards. Under the impression that the Russians were intriguing with Shere Ali, who was then ruler of Afghanistan, it was determined to send a mission to Cabul. Shere Ali objected most strongly to either a mission or a Resident. In spite of his objection, the mission was sent forward. So numerous were its members that it resembled an army more than a mission. Leaving Peshawar on September 21, 1878, a few days after the mission was stopped at the entrance to the Khyber Pass by one of Shere Ali's officials. This refusal on the part of the Amir to accept our mission resulted, as we know, in war with Afghanistan. With its subsequent invasion and occupation we have nothing to do whatever. What concerns us, and what is more to the point as regards the question at issue, is the attitude of these frontier tribes at the moment of going to war. The notes that I am now about to give are taken from my diary. These were made by me on the spot, not merely as the result of my own observations, but as culled from the ripe experience of a well-known frontier official.

"To the south of the Khyber Pass the Afridis, the Kamar and Kuki Kheyls, the Malikdin and Sipah, have remained friendly. Indeed, they have sent in their influential maliks to take our orders. But the Zakka Kheyls, as cunning and rascally as ever, are still holding out, obviously in doubt as to which side they will join—waiting, in fact, like leashed sleuthhounds, to see the result of the first brush. The Mohmands are also quiet and lying low, ready, seemingly, to throw in their lot with ours when we have cleared the Khyber of Afghans. The Utman Kheyls are very restless. It is evident that they are not yet reconciled to the Swat River canal scheme, which they actively protested against last year (1877) by killing a number of our coolies. But, uncertain as everything is, one thing at least is certain. This is that, up to date, the religious bluster and blandishments of that crafty



fox, Shere Ali, have failed utterly and entirely to secure him any allies among these independent fighting communities that separate Afghanistan from British territory. The Swatis are much too busy fighting among themselves to care a single or solitary rap as to how matters go between ourselves and Shere Ali. Neither side have the slightest attraction for them. Their interests are their own, very personal, and centring exclusively in themselves. Outside interests are a blank to them. The Bajaoris, too, are deeply immersed in the proverbial and exhilarating domestic excitement of cutting each other's throats. The son and successor of the late Akhund (pronounced Akhoond) has gone so far as to threaten us with a *jehad* (holy war). By this means he hopes to acquire cheaply a name for sanctity at our expense, and without much personal sacrifice. But neither in Bajor nor Swat have his appeals to the religious enthusiasm of the populace met with that liberal response that he evidently anticipated. The fact of the matter is that in these hard-headed modern days it is not so easy to arouse the fanaticism of even the greatest fanatics as it was in days of yore. People know too much about each other, and it requires a lot of rousing to get them out of their beaten track. Against the deadly war equipment of modern civilization it is not likely the *jehad* will be raised as quickly and as readily as it was. Even among these fiery tribesmen the elders are inclined to be more sensible than they were. Many of them have, in a very reasonable manner, pointed out to this rash and hot-headed youth that the present war is in reality only a struggle between two Kafir nations, the 'Angrez' and the 'Russ,' in which it would be altogether impolitic to interfere; that Shere Ali is merely a cat's-paw, with whose assistance the chestnuts are being pulled out of the fire; that, in fact, the essential conditions for a religious war do not exist. In Bonair there is the same quiet, and the Hindustani fanatics of Malka, or Palosa (as it is now called), are sulking with Mian Gul, and will have nothing

to do with the *jehad*; because, say they, his reverend father, the late Akhund, treated them scurvily on a former occasion when they wanted to drive the English out of India. In the Peshawar Valley the people are indifferent—callous, in fact—and go about their ordinary business as if nothing were going on. The price of land is higher than ever. They sue each other in the civil courts with the same alacrity as of old. Indeed, in a hundred and one different ways they show clearly their faith in the continuance of the British 'raj,' however much their versatile Oriental nature would lead them to long for a change of rulers."

Drawn thirty years ago as this picture was, it holds good to-day with regard to the character and attitude of these people, as if it were drawn for this special purpose. The Ethiopian no more can change his skin nor the leopard his spots than these wild robbers their ways of life and thinking. That Sir James Willcocks and his force will get the best of it we have no doubt. But this will not decide the everlasting frontier question any more than previous expeditions have done. Like human volcanoes, they may be smothered for the time being, but that they will smoulder and break out again with renewed vigour and force is just as certain as to say that the sun will shine to-morrow.

There are many points that have to be considered in working out such a Sphingian problem. Besides the two very important difficulties that I have pointed out with regard to the inaccessible nature of the country and the guerilla tactics of the enemy, there are other lesser, but all the same serious, matters that have to be confronted. To start with, there is the initial disadvantage of lack of time for adequate preparation and want of homogeneity in the composition of the force. Preparation in expeditions of this kind can at the best last only a few weeks. This means that the preparation is hasty, instead of being careful. It means, further, that, instead of an ample and carefully organized transport, animals and their attendants have to

be hastily collected all over India, and sent to the front without any previous training or experience. In lieu of a staff trained in the same school and accustomed to act together, the staff, as a rule, is composed of officers from all parts of India, many of them absolute strangers to their generals and to each other, and unknown to the troops with whom they have to serve. Again, the insufficient knowledge, amounting practically to ignorance, that we have of the country makes it all the harder for the commander to bring his operations to a successful issue. Success on a large scale—that is, a scale that would enable him to crush the enemy so effectually as to stamp out all future resistance—is, in fact, impossible; all the more so when the enemy fight as these wild tribesmen. The task of getting hold of men so mobile and active as they are is, in a word, no easier than it was in the late South African War to surround the Boers. The plan of operations are always found to suffer from an inner contradiction, so to speak. On the one hand, the various columns into which the invading force is usually divided are given a geographical point as their strategical goal, obviously because the combined opposition of a united hostile force is not expected. On the other hand, this possibility is seemingly reckoned with because the main body of the invading force is, as in the case of the Tirah Campaign, united towards the centre of the line of operations, with the obvious object of a main decisive stroke. A concentration such as this is fatal, because the transportation of supplies and stores and the movement of troops is certain to occupy some three or four weeks—long enough, at all events, to enable the enemy to drive away out of reach all their people, except the fighters, along with their flocks and valuables. The fact of the matter is that these frontier campaigns resolve themselves into nothing but a series of skirmishes under unusually severe and exceptional circumstances, that are most trying to the invaders. The brunt of the work invariably falls upon the company officers.

These are frequently left to shift for themselves, and if, through inexperience or want of "the bump of locality," they make a mistake, the mistake not only costs them their own lives and those of the men under them, but it is at once magnified into a reverse to the British arms and a victory for the enemy.

The present frontier policy of "letting sleeping dogs lie" is obviously not a success; but to hit them so hard as to keep them permanently quiet is also, it is very evident, a moral impossibility. Looking the matter fairly and squarely in the face, there seems to be at present only one practical way out of the maze. Let us put our *amour propre* to one side, and purchase, not only peace, but also, if it must be, the phantom of the sphere of interest with a portion of the millions that these "little expeditions" cost. We have done it before. Why in the name of common sense can we not do it again?

## IN PIAM MEMORIAM.

THE SERVICES OF THE MADRAS NATIVE TROOPS IN THE  
SUPPRESSION OF THE MUTINY OF THE BENGAL ARMY.

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

FIFTY years have passed since the outbreak of the great Mutiny shook the mighty fabric of our Indian Empire to its foundations, and its lessons have been forgotten by a new generation. The maxim of *Divide et Impera*, which has always shaped the policy and safeguarded the supremacy of a ruling race, was adopted by the Directors of the East India Company more from mere accident than of set purpose; but the segregation of our native Indian military forces into three separate and distinct armies was undoubtedly a saving factor in the situation in 1857-58. The native troops of the Madras and Bombay armies remained true to their salt and faithful to their colours, and not only rendered material aid in suppressing the Mutiny, but through their loyalty enabled the Government to denude Western and Southern India of European troops, whose assistance was vital to the task of reasserting our supremacy in the northern districts. The Titanic struggles around Delhi and Lucknow have engrossed the interest of the public and absorbed the attention of the historians; and the arduous campaigns in Central India and the innumerable minor operations in which the troops of the minor Presidencies were engaged are now almost forgotten, except by the few survivors of those who fought on the Betwa and at Banda, who mounted the breach at Jhansi and shared in the booty of Kirwee. The references to these services may be found widely scattered throughout the pages of Kaye and Malleon, and a host of other writers of more or less note; but the services of the Madras troops were so varied in character, and disseminated



over so wide an area, that it is not easy to gather a connected idea of their doings on the different fields of operations. An attempt is here made to present to the reader a succinct, and at the same time a comprehensive, account of these various services.

In 1856 it was decided that the Enfield rifle, which had lately superseded the smooth-bore musket as the arm of the British Infantry, should be issued to the troops of the Honourable East India Company's Army. In the same year schools of musketry for the instruction of the troops in the use of the new weapon were established in the three Presidencies, those for the Madras Army being at Secunderabad and Bangalore, whither parties of British officers and native soldiers were sent from the regiments in other stations to learn the new drill. But when the thunderbolt of the mutiny at Meerut fell on May 11, 1857, and the massacre of the Europeans at Delhi had startled the Indian Government from its opinionated optimism and the Anglo-Indian community from its serene sense of security, a revulsion set in, and people in a panic feared and suspected the worst. As news rapidly succeeded news of fresh explosions, and of regiments which had one day protested their loyalty and volunteered to march against the mutineers, breaking out into mutiny and murdering their officers on the morrow, it became difficult to know whom to trust, and it appeared doubtful whether the sepoys of the Madras and Bombay armies were more to be relied upon than those of Bengal. The scare of the greased cartridge had originated at the musketry school at Umballa; and though the Madras sepoys had made no objection to the new cartridge, and regarded the unfavourable rumours about it with indifference, it was deemed expedient to dissolve the musketry classes at Bangalore and Secunderabad, and to send the members back to their regiments.

Precautions were taken against a rising in Madras itself, where the suburb of Triplicane, abutting on the grounds of

Government House and the Madras Club, contained a large Musalman population, mostly clients and dependents of the Nawabs of Arcot, whose title had been suppressed and whose revenues had been sequestered by Lord Dalhousie. The C Troop of Madras European Horse Artillery was requisitioned from Bangalore and brought to Government House, where the banqueting-hall was converted into a temporary barrack for its accommodation, the officers occupying the galleries and the men the ground floor, or ball-room. Two companies of the 17th Madras Native Infantry were encamped in the park of Government House, as an additional precaution, and all the officers of these troops messed at the table of Lord Harris, the Governor, as his guests. Muskets and packets of ball cartridges were served out to all resident members of the Madras Club by the steward of the Club. The European and Eurasian residents of Madras enrolled themselves as volunteers, and were formed into a troop of cavalry and a battalion of infantry under the title of the Madras Volunteer Guards.\*

But the fact of the fidelity of the native military and the loyalty of the civil population of Southern India was quickly demonstrated and firmly established, and the authorities at Madras transferred their solicitude from their own affairs to those of their fellow-countrymen in Bengal. The Madras sepoys generally volunteered for service against the mutineers, and petitioned "to be granted an opportunity of proving their faithful attachment to the Government which had cherished them."

The Governor-General, Lord Canning, was at his wits' end for troops to stem the tide of mutiny, and he called on Lord Harris for aid, and the Governor of Madras responded cheerfully and promptly to the call. The European regiment

\* The troop of cavalry was disbanded after the suppression of the Mutiny, but the battalion of infantry is still borne on the Indian Army List as the Madras Volunteer Guards, with its original motto, "Ready, aye ready." It is the oldest existing volunteer corps in India.

of Madras Fusiliers had already been dispatched to Calcutta, and it had done yeoman's service in Havelock's capture of Cawnpore and attempted relief of the Residency at Lucknow. In July a brigade of Madras native troops was dispatched by sea to Calcutta, under the command of Brigadier-General Morden Carthew, and orders were given for the assembly of a division of Madras European and native troops at Nagpore for the reconquest of Central India, under the command of Brigadier-General Whitlock. The Supreme Government was so confident of the loyalty and good spirit of the Madras sepoys that the Governor-General sanctioned the raising of the strength of every regiment of Madras Infantry from 700 to 1,000 privates, and this order was immediately carried out, increasing the strength of the native army of Madras by 15,000 men. Two additional battalions of native infantry were also recruited, under the titles of 1st and 2nd Extra Regiments.

#### HYDERABAD AND THE DECCAN.

Hyderabad in the Deccan is the capital of the largest and most powerful Musalman State in India, whose ruler derives his title from the founder of the dynasty, Nizamul Mulk, who ruled the Deccan as the Viceroy of the Mogul Emperors at Delhi.\* The news that the House of Timur had been replaced on the throne of India by the mutinous sepoys at Delhi caused great excitement among the Musalmans in Hyderabad, and a rising was generally expected. The city itself was at that time as impenetrable to a European as Pekin, and the inhabitants commonly carried arms, and settled their disputes by an appeal to them.

\* An old Musalman of Hyderabad drew the attention of an English officer to a mark on a Hyderabad rupee resembling a star or rosette, and asked him what he thought it meant. The Englishman replied that it was probably put there for ornament. "No," said the old Shaikh, "that is the mark of the Mogul Emperor, and it is kept on the coin that when the Emperor comes to his own again, the Nizam may be able to point to it as a proof of his fidelity to the rightful sovereign of India through all the time that he performs submitted to British rule."

Both city and country were infested by bands of Arabs, Rohillas,\* and other foreign mercenaries engaged from time to time by the Nizam, or by his nobles, for their service or defence, and these men were always ready to join in any riot or disturbance, and were all animated by a sincere hatred of the British Government and all its works. The British Residency was situated in a garden suburb outside the city, and was guarded by a detachment of 100 sepoys, furnished by one of the native infantry regiments in the military cantonment of Secunderabad, five miles distant. The Company's troops had been originally stationed there to protect the Nizam against his rivals and enemies, and now served to overawe his capital.

The force at Secunderabad at the time consisted of a battalion of European artillery,† and a single battalion of European infantry, the 3rd Madras Europeans. The native troops were the F Troop of Horse Artillery, the 7th Light Cavalry, two companies of sappers, and the 1st, 22nd, 24th, 34th, 41st, 42nd, and 49th Madras Infantry, under the command of Brigadier-General—afterwards Sir Isaac—Coffin, himself a Madras officer, and Colonel of the 12th Madras Infantry. There were also at Bolarum, a short distance off, a regiment of cavalry, a battery of field artillery, and two battalions of infantry of the Hyderabad contingent, a force in the service of the Nizam, but officered by English officers from the Madras Army. General Coffin detained the twenty-two officers who had been detailed for the School of Musketry in the expectation that their services would be useful in the event of an outbreak. In the city placards were posted up calling on the

\* The name Rohilla is used in the Deccan simply as a synonym for Afghan.

† The Madras Regiment of Artillery comprised a brigade of Horse Artillery with four European and two native troops, and five battalions of Foot Artillery, of which the first four were European, and the fifth a native or Golandáz battalion. Golandáz (lit., ball-thrower) is the Persian word used for a gunner in India, while in Turkey and Persia they are called Topji (Cannonier).

people to rise and exterminate the Farangis, green flags were hoisted, and the Jihad was preached in the mosques ; but Salar Jung, the able minister of the Nizam, was, both by policy and inclination, attached to the English Alliance, and he did all in his power to allay the ferment, and loyally kept the Resident, Major Cuthbert Davidson, and General Coffin fully informed of all that was passing in the city.

The General twice paraded the whole Division as a demonstration in force against the city ; but on the evening of July 17, 1857, a mob of Rohillas, Arabs, and local *budmashes*,\* led by a chief called Turrabáz Khán and incited by a Maulavi named Ala-ud-Din, assembled for an attack upon the British Residency. Salar Jung was able to give timely warning to Major Davidson, who wired the news to General Coffin, and the preconcerted alarm signal of three guns brought every man of the Division to the appointed rendezvous. Two guns of the Native Troop of Madras Horse Artillery, outstripping all the rest, arrived at a gallop at the Residency just in time to forestall the assailants, and to give them a warm reception. As the yelling mob pressed towards the gate of the Residency two discharges of grape ploughed through the dense crowd and scattered it in all directions. All who were not left dead or dying on the road turned tail and fled back towards the city, and found themselves confronted by a body of Salar Jung's troops, sent by him to fall upon their rear. The mob was dispersed, and its two ringleaders were captured. Turrabáz Khán was shot by his guards when attempting to escape ; the Maulavi was handed over to the British authorities, who transported him to the Andamans. There was no more trouble at Hyderabad.

But the disaffected and the adventurous spirits of the Deccan found a new rallying-point at Shorapore, the Rajah of which place raised the standard of revolt in February, 1858. Three columns were mobilized to converge upon Shorapore ; one of Bombay troops, under

\* The Indian equivalent for roughs or hooligans.



Colonel Malcolm, from the north ; one composed of troops of the Hyderabad contingent from the east, under Captain Wyndham ; and one of Madras troops from Bellary, to the south, under Major Hughes, of the 47th Madras Infantry, comprising detachments of the 74th Highlanders, the 30th and 47th Madras Infantry, and some Mysore Silahdar cavalry, in long-skirted red coats, and armed with long lances. Major Hughes, says Malleson, "in daring and manly qualities, in the capacity to manage men and to direct operations, yielded to none who came to the front in the Mutiny."

Captain Wyndham arriving first in the vicinity of Shorapore on February 7, was attacked during the night by the Rajah's Arabs and Rohillas, and fighting went on incessantly until the morning, when Major Hughes arrived on the ground, and led his troops immediately to the attack of the enemy. The Mysore cavalry, led by two Madras cavalry officers, Captain Newberry and Lieutenant Stewart, immediately charged. The two officers, outstripping their men, dashed into the ruck of the Rohillas, who were already flying in confusion, and Captain Newberry was surrounded and killed. Lieutenant Stewart had broken his sword in cutting down a Rohilla, but the man, who was felled to the ground by the blow, regained his feet, and with a huge two-handed sword made at Stewart, who was now defenceless. The Rohilla aimed a desperate blow at Stewart's head, and sliced off one of his ears ; he then made haste to rejoin his flying comrades, for the Mysore horsemen were now tardily arriving to the succour of the officers.\* The enemy shut themselves up within the fort of Shorapore, and Hughes awaited the arrival of the

\* Malleson says that the charge on the Rohillas at Shorapore was made by the 8th Madras Cavalry, a regiment which was no longer in existence at the time, having been disbanded some months previously. Lieutenant Stewart afterwards became Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Stewart ; he was Quartermaster-General of the Madras Army under Lord Roberts, and subsequently commanded the Burma Division of the Army. He was unfortunately killed by a fall from his horse when hunting in England.

Bombay column before attacking it. But during the night the Rajah and his followers evacuated the fort and dispersed over the country. The Rajah was soon afterwards captured and sentenced to imprisonment ; but he escaped his punishment by committing suicide.

Two days afterwards two men were caught with the forage-caps of Captain Newberry and Lieutenant Stewart on their heads, and were at once tried by drum-head court-martial and blown away from guns by order of Major Hughes, who had full powers given to him to suppress the rebellion by any means he thought proper. The result was that he was soon able to announce to the Government that order reigned in the Shorapore district, and the Madras Column returned to Bellary.

In May, 1858, a Mahratta named Bheem Rao, who was the head accountant in the Collector's office at Bellary, decamped, and collected some 300 budmashes, Arabs, and Rohillas, with whom he shut himself up in the fort of Kopal, and from it sent a letter to Mr. Pelly, of the Madras Civil Service, Collector of Bellary, telling him he was going to attack him, and would soon have his head. The reply to this was the immediate dispatch of a field force by the General commanding at Bellary, consisting of two companies 74th Highlanders and two companies 47th Madras Native Infantry, half a battery of Madras Artillery, and some Madras Light Cavalry under Major Hughes.

Kopal is forty miles from Bellary ; the field force started at midnight and got to the place by sunset next day. The next morning Major Hughes sent word to Bheem Rao to turn out all women and children from Kopal, as he was going to attack the place at midday. No answer was returned, and at noon the attack commenced. The guns opened fire on the gates, for the walls were too strong to be breached by field-pieces, and at 12.30 the infantry went for the gates at a run, the Highlanders and sepoys vying with each other who should be first, and they forced the

gates and entered all mixed up together. Some hand-to-hand fighting took place, in which Bheem Rao and also his second-in-command were killed ; the rest of his men were made prisoners. A wealthy and influential Musalman of the town came and warmly congratulated Major Hughes on his success, but it was discovered that it was this very man who had invited Bheem Rao to occupy the place, and had fed him and his followers for several days ; so he was at once made prisoner, tried by court-martial, and hanged the next day by Major Hughes' orders. There were eighty others taken fighting against us with arms in their hands ; these were all tried by court-martial and shot to death by musketry, and were all buried in one common grave. The body of Bheem Rao was not allowed to be burnt, although he was a Brahman ; it was exposed to public view for one day, and was then buried, and a Highland sentry mounted guard over the grave for some days, to prevent its being taken up to be burnt by his friends. There was no more trouble in that part of the country, and Major Hughes was thanked for his services by the Government of Madras, and was commended by the Commander-in-Chief.

In the subsequent operations against the Sawant-Warri rebels the Grenadier company of the 47th Madras Infantry, under Lieutenant Seafeld Grant,\* was dispatched from Bellary to the support of the Bombay troops employed in North Canara, and it remained engaged in the tedious and arduous task of hunting down the rebels in the hilly and densely wooded country in which they had taken refuge for eight months. Some companies of the 8th Madras Infantry from Mangalore, and of the 3rd Palamcottah Light Infantry from Cannanore, were also employed to complete the cordon round the disturbed districts, until the rebels finally laid down their arms and surrendered to the Portuguese authorities on the Goa frontier.

\* Now Lieutenant-General Seafeld M. T. Grant, Unemployed List, Indian Army.

## OPERATIONS AROUND JUBBULPORE.

In the cold weather of 1856-57 the Madras troops which garrisoned the military stations in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories were relieved by troops from Bengal. The 28th Madras Infantry still remained at Hoshungabad with a detachment of two companies at Narsimpore, and the 52nd Bengal Infantry was in garrison at Jubbulpore. In January the mysterious chupatties arrived at Narsimpore, brought by unknown messengers, in accordance with whose instructions the Kotwal, or native magistrate, distributed them to the neighbouring villages, at the same time reporting to his European superior that he had done so ; but the European officials took little heed of the circumstance. The country was full of minor chiefs and petty Rajahs, many of whom had grievances against the Suzerain Power, and when the Mutiny broke out, and the troops at Saugor began fighting amongst themselves, the whole district burst into a blaze. For a time the men of the 52nd Bengal Infantry, at Jubbulpore, committed no overt act of mutiny ; but they behaved insolently to their officers, and showed that they felt themselves to be masters of the situation. To lessen the danger from their mutinying, some companies of them were detached into the country round to repress disorders, and for awhile they did their duty. Meanwhile a movable column had been formed at Kamp-tee, the military cantonment near Nagpore city, from the Madras troops stationed there, to scour the disturbed districts north of the Nerbudda, and to intimidate the Bengal troops at Jubbulpore. The column consisted of a troop of the 4th Madras Light Cavalry\* under Captain

\* The 4th Madras Light Cavalry had gained reputation in Sir Arthur Wellesley's campaign in the Deccan, when it was brigaded with the famous 19th Light Dragoons, and was known by the sobriquet of "the Black Nineteenth." It was latterly given the title of the Prince of Wales' Own Madras Cavalry, and changed its buff facings to scarlet. It was lately disbanded in order to provide a fourth squadron for the other three regiments of Madras Cavalry.

Tottenham, the 33rd Madras Infantry under Colonel Miller, a bullock battery of Field Artillery (Europeans) under Captain Jones, and a rifle company from the Nagpore Irregular Force. The column arrived at Jubbulpore on August 2, and its presence had a sobering effect on the sepoys of the Bengal Regiment; so much so that no further danger was apprehended from them, and they were not summoned to give up their arms.

Colonel Miller, after giving his men a few days' rest, marched into the district to clear it of the bands of rebels and dacoits who were plundering it. But he had not long left Jubbulpore when the sepoys of the 52nd quietly left their quarters one night and, without harming any of the Europeans, took their departure into the country, picking up their detachments at outlying stations. The men of one of these detachments sent their two European officers unharmed into Jubbulpore; but those of another detachment made their officer, Lieutenant Macgregor, a prisoner. As soon as Colonel Miller heard of the outbreak of the Bengal sepoys he hastened by forced marches to intercept them. He sent on a party of the 4th Light Cavalry and the Grenadier Company of the 33rd, under Major Jenkins and Captain Watson, to secure the passage of the river Hiram, which lay in his path. As these two officers were carelessly riding well ahead of their men at daybreak, they fell into an ambush laid for them by the mutineers, who always showed great aptitude for, and some skill in, this kind of warfare. The two officers were surrounded, but they cut their way through their assailants and rejoined their men, escaping unhurt as by a miracle, but no doubt they were saved by the cowardice of their foes. As they found they had the whole battalion opposed to them, they sent off word to the column, and retreated to a hill, where they stood their ground. The mutineers left them alone, and took up a strong position to resist the advance of the main body of the column, which was now rapidly approaching. "Eager to avenge their officers, and to relieve their



comrades, the gallant native soldiers of the Coast Army\* hurried forward. On reaching the mouth of the gorge leading to Katangi they found the 52nd had taken up a very strong position, with both flanks covered by thick jungle.

"Without hesitating, they opened fire from the guns, and then attacked the rebels with the bayonet, and drove them before them. On reaching Katangi they were joined by Jenkins and Watson, and the pursuit was continued beyond that place. In Katangi the body of Lieutenant Macgregor, murdered that morning, was found, with one ball through the neck, both arms broken, and his body perforated with thirty or forty bayonet wounds. The rebels suffered severely; 125 dead were actually counted on the field, and it is certain that many more were wounded. Some of the mutineers were captured, and were forthwith hanged. On the side of the victors, one man was killed and fifty were wounded."†

The defeated mutineers scattered themselves over the country in small parties, and the column returned to Jubbulpore to protect the station against any possible attempt upon it. From thence Colonel Miller dominated the district around, making constant excursions into it to suppress brigandage and restore order; but as soon as the flame of insurrection was quenched in one spot it broke out again in another. The mixed rabble of mutineers and rebels, when attacked, fled and scattered, and reunited at some safer and more distant place. In the month of November a large body of them, having ventured too near Jubbulpore, were attacked by the Madras troops, and routed and dispersed after a smart skirmish, in which Captain Tottenham was unfortunately killed. The force at Jubbulpore was gradually increased by the arrival of the remainder of the 4th Madras Light Cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Cum-

\* The Madras Army was formerly commonly called the Coast Army. A report had reached the men of the column that the officers with the advanced party had been killed.

† Malleeson's "History of the Indian Mutiny."

berlege, the 6th Madras Light Cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Byng, and 150 sabres of the 2nd Cavalry Hyderabad contingent under Captain Macintyre. On February 6, 1858, General Whitlock's Field Force from Kamptee arrived at Jubbulpore on its march northwards, but before that date the rebels and mutineers had been driven north of the Nerbudda. This result was chiefly achieved by the four companies of the 28th Madras Infantry stationed at Narsimpore, under Captain Woolley, a brave and capable officer, who united with some of the loyal sepoys of the 31st Bengal Infantry\* from Saugor, and under the direction of the energetic Deputy-Commissioner, Captain Ternan, effectually cleared the district of rebels. As for this service it was necessary to break up the troops employed into small commands, some of the British officers of the 52nd Bengal Infantry were attached to the Madras troops. In a sharp fight with a large body of rebels their leader, Ganjan Singh, was killed, with many of his men, and his band completely broken up. In this affair Ternan's horse was shot under him.

The band of another noted rebel leader, Dalganjan, was next dispersed, and he himself was captured and hanged. Ternan and Woolley next marched on Chirapore, a place which was a great centre for the rebels. They evacuated it on the approach of the Madras troops, but they were followed by forced marches and surprised in their camp, which was captured with much of their arms and stores, including a 4-pounder gun. A force of rebels from Ratghar, attempting to enter the district, was attacked at Madanpore, defeated, and driven back. The country was made too hot to hold the mutineers and dacoits, who betook them-

\* The 31st was one of the few Bengal native regiments that remained loyal under the temptation which proved too strong for so many. Most of the other Bengal sepoy regiments which survived the Mutiny owed their escape from disbandment to the fact of their having been quartered at the time of the outbreak in Burma or China. The 31st was renumbered the 2nd after the Mutiny, and is now the 2nd Regiment Queen's Own Rajput Light Infantry of the Indian Army.

selves to other districts, where they might be less molested in their plundering work.

At the outbreak of the Mutiny there was one single company of Europeans of the Madras Artillery stationed at Kamptee. The remainder of the troops were the 4th Madras Light Cavalry and the 26th, 32nd, and 33rd Madras Infantry, all under the command of Brigadier-General H. Prior. At Nagpore, and in the adjacent districts, were a regiment of cavalry and three battalions of infantry of the Nagpore Irregular Force, recruited from the same races and classes as the men of the Bengal Army. The State of Nagpore had been annexed and its Rajah deposed by Lord Dalhousie in 1853, and a great part of the population was ripe for revolt. A combined mutiny and insurrection was planned, the signal for which was to be the ascent of three fire-balloons from the city on the night of June 13. But the known staunchness of the Madras sepoys caused the conspirators to postpone the execution of their design. Meanwhile Mr. Plowden, the Resident, gained information of the plot, and that the 1st Nagpore Cavalry were involved in it. He asked Lieutenant-Colonel Cumberlege, commanding the 4th Madras Light Cavalry, to disarm the suspected regiment. It was surrounded by the Madras troops, and its men gave up their arms without attempting resistance. This measure nipped the proposed mutiny in the bud. The Nagpore Infantry remained loyal, and even rendered some service against the Saugor and Jubbulpore mutineers. The situation at Nagpore was saved by the loyalty of the Madras Native Army.

#### THE MADRAS RIFLES.

When the Governor-General, Lord Canning, applied to Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, for the assistance of Madras troops, it was resolved to form a provisional Rifle Battalion from the rifle companies of the army, and to dispatch it to Calcutta. The native infantry of the Madras

Army was at that time formed in fifty-two single-battalion regiments, of which one was Grenadiers and four were Light Infantry. All the regiments had ten companies—one Grenadier, one Light, and eight battalion companies; but eight regiments had companies of Rifles instead of Light Companies. These were the 1st, 5th, 16th, 24th, 26th, 36th, 38th, and 49th\* Regiments. These Rifle Companies were dressed in rifle-green with black accoutrements; their officers wore the Hussar-pattern uniforms then affected by rifle corps, with black braid and black velvet facings and silver ornaments. The men were armed with the short two-grooved rifle, which had been the arm of the Rifle Brigade and the King's Royal Rifles before the introduction of the Minie and Enfield rifles.

The Bengal Native Infantry had also rifle companies in some of its regiments, and these were a cause of great loss and annoyance to the beleaguered English garrisons of Cawnpore and other places. A similar system had prevailed in the Bombay Army, but it was abolished in 1841, and the 4th Bombay Native Infantry was made into a rifle corps. The distinctive dress and equipment of the Madras Rifle Companies was suppressed when all the infantry were armed with rifles in 1873.

As the 26th Regiment was at the time stationed in Burma and the 38th Regiment in China, their rifle companies were not available for the proposed provisional battalion, so two companies of the 34th Chicacole Light Infantry† were added to make up the number of companies

\* Malleson gives the 54th as one of the Madras regiments with Rifle Companies, but there was no such regiment. It is probably a printer's error for 34th, as the 34th Light Infantry furnished two companies to complete the Rifle Battalion.

† In 1812 four battalions of Madras Native Infantry were converted into Light Infantry Corps under the territorial titles of the Palamcottah, the Wallajahbad, the Trichinopoly, and the Chicacole Light Infantry. They were given the motto "Now or never," with green turbans and green facings to their red jackets. They were equipped like rifles with black accoutrements, and were armed with fusils or short muskets. In the reorganization of 1824 they became the 3rd, 23rd, 31st, and 34th Regiments

to eight. Those of the 1st and 24th Regiments which were stationed at Secunderabad were marched to Masulipatam, and there embarked for Calcutta, and on disembarkation were encamped at Howrah, to await the arrival of the other six companies, which were conveyed from Madras in the Honourable East India Company's s.s. *Coromandel*, reaching Calcutta on September 16. They were not very cordially welcomed by the Bengal Staff Officers, who had always affected to consider their own army as much superior to those of the other Presidencies, and now seemed annoyed that the Madras and Bombay sepoy should display the qualities of loyalty and fidelity in which their own men had so conspicuously failed.

The Madras Rifle Battalion mustered 800 riflemen, besides native officers and non-commissioned officers, making its total strength 900 of all ranks. There were three British officers to each company. The battalion was commanded by Major Carr, of the 16th Madras Infantry, and his adjutant was Lieutenant Bolton,\* of the same regiment. The whole battalion having been assembled at Calcutta, it was moved up-country to Raneegunj, where it was employed in disarming the sepoy of suspected Bengal regiments. After this work had been successfully accomplished the Rifle Companies of the 1st and 36th regiments were detached from the battalion and attached to the column under Colonel Sir G. Barker, R.A., which was employed in keeping the Grand Trunk Road open.

The column marched up the Trunk Road towards Cawnpore, sending out parties from time to time to disperse

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of Madras Infantry. The Palamcottah and the Wallajahbad Light Infantry are now the 63rd and 83rd Regiments, retaining their old titles and motto, but they lost their distinctive dress and equipment in 1873. The Trichinopoly Light Infantry has become the 91st Punjabis (Light Infantry), dressed in drab with cherry-coloured facings; it retains the motto "Now or never." The 34th Chicacole Light Infantry has disappeared from the Indian Army List, having been disbanded in the reductions of 1882.

\* Now Major-General R. H. Bolton.



bodies of rebels which threatened the communications, and in these operations the two Madras Rifle Companies had their full share. When the column was broken up they joined General Carthew's Madras Brigade at Futtehpore, and were detached to safeguard the railway bridges in course of construction at Pandoo Nuddee, and were afterwards employed in watching the ghâts or ferries on the Ganges to prevent communication between the rebels in Oude and those in Central India. The Rifle Company of the 1st Madras Infantry rejoined the regiment, which formed part of General Whitlock's force at Banda, and was employed in various minor operations against the rebels, and did much good service; it was engaged in many skirmishes with the scattered parties of the enemy, in which the men always behaved very well. Later on it was engaged in the pursuit of Tantia Topi, and did not finally rejoin the regimental headquarters at Hoshungabad until 1860.

The rest of the battalion was employed against the Dinapore mutineers and the rebel followers of Kunwar Singh, in Western Behar, and subsequently in the long and harassing guerilla warfare carried on by that chief and his brother, Amar Singh, in the jungles around their stronghold of Jugdespore. In this petty war of posts and raids the companies of the battalion were often scattered over a wide area, acting independently or in conjunction with the small mobile columns of all arms in which our force was necessarily disseminated to follow and locate our ubiquitous enemy.

Kunwar Singh was the only rebel leader besides Tantia Topi who displayed any genius for war or capacity for directing military operations; and neither of these men had enjoyed any regular military training. It is a significant fact that our trained native army did not produce a single example of a capable leader of men. When Colonel Milman's force was blockaded in Azimghur by the superior numbers of Kunwar Singh, a company of the Madras Rifles

marched from Benares to his assistance, and succeeded in entering the fort. When Lord Mark Ker's column forced its way into Azimghur after defeating Kunwar Singh's army, most of his bullock-drivers had bolted during the fighting, and as the bullocks would not suffer themselves to be handled or managed by Europeans, the Madras Rifles were sent out to bring in the baggage train. The series of operations against Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh lasted for more than a twelvemonth, and it was not until November, 1858, that the last bands of rebels in the Jugdespore district were hunted down and finally dispersed.

#### THE MADRAS BRIGADE AT CAWNPORE AND LUCKNOW.

In compliance with the Governor-General's application for reinforcements, the following Madras native troops were ordered to proceed by sea to Calcutta besides the Madras Rifles: The 8th Light Cavalry, half the E Troop of Horse Artillery with two light field-guns; the C Company of the 5th (Golundauze) Battalion of Artillery, with six 6-pounder field-pieces; the C Company Sappers and Miners; and the 17th and 27th Regiments of Infantry, the whole under the command of Brigadier-General Morden Carthew, of the 27th Madras Infantry. Of this officer Colonel Malleon says in his "History of the Indian Mutiny": "To a thorough knowledge of his profession he combined great quickness of military vision, the capacity and the nerve to strike at the right moment. All that he did, he did thoroughly and well. With larger opportunities it cannot be doubted that he would have achieved great things."

Captain C. H. Drury,\* of the Madras Infantry, was Brigade Major of the force, which comprised also the A Company of the 3rd (European) Battalion of Madras Artillery, of which the drivers were natives; it had also a

\* Captain Drury was severely wounded, and had his horse killed under him, at the battle of Cawnpore on November 28, 1857. He rose to the rank of Colonel, and held several staff appointments in the Madras Army before his untimely death.

detachment of Madras Gun-Lascars, who wore uniform and carried arms, and acted as sappers to the battery, saving the European gunners much fatigue and exposure.

The 8th Light Cavalry never took the field. On its way to Madras for embarkation its native officers, in the name of the regiment, demanded as a condition of their proceeding on service the restoration of the old and superior rates of field batta or campaign allowance. Malleson says that they were "tainted by the mutinous spirit which had disgraced their brethren of the Bengal Army." But this was not so; they had no intention to be disloyal, but they unfortunately conceived the idea that this was a favourable opportunity to take advantage of the embarrassment of the Government to secure some profit for themselves. They were soon undeceived, and had reason bitterly to regret their misconduct. The regiment was promptly disbanded, and its horses were shipped for Bengal, where they served to mount the men of a battalion of the Military Train which was turned into a corps of cavalry improvised for the occasion. This was the only instance of misconduct that occurred among Madras native troops during the Mutiny campaigns.

The rest of the troops reached Calcutta early in August, and were dispatched as speedily as possible to the front. *En route* they were employed to disarm some suspected Bengal regiments, and on the receipt of the news of the mutiny at Ramghur, a wing of the 27th Madras Infantry and a detachment of the C Company 5th Battalion Native Artillery, with two 6-pounder guns, were detached to recapture Hazaribagh and re-establish British authority in Chota Nagpore. Captain (afterwards Major-General Sir Robert) Cadell commanded the detachment, and his place in the C Company was taken by Lieutenant S. H. E. Chamier,\* from the A Company of the 3rd European Battalion, who was the only British officer with the native artillerymen during the severe fighting which followed.

\* Now Lieutenant-General S. H. E. Chamier, C.B.

Captain Cadell and his comrades found Hazaribagh deserted by the mutineers, and followed them to Dorundah, which was also evacuated at their approach. In the passage of the Ramghur Ghaut the ascent was so steep that the horses of the gun-teams had to be unhooked and the guns and limbers dragged up by hand. Captain Cadell's detachment remained in Chota Nagpore for the pacification and protection of the district, and it was not until the Madras Brigade was moved to Futtehpoore to command the Doab that it rejoined the rest of the company.

The two Horse Artillery guns were summoned to the front, and moved on by forced marches to join the camp of the Commander-in-Chief before Lucknow. They arrived on November 14, and were next day engaged with the enemy. When the force was halted that day for rest at the Dilkusha, the enemy suddenly opened fire from a masked battery on our advanced guard, and guns were called for to return their fire. The two Madras Horse Artillery guns, the horses of which were standing ready harnessed in their bivouac, were the first in the field, and with a few well-directed rounds drove the enemy's guns out of action. The rebels then brought forward a heavy gun, but this was also soon silenced. Sir Colin Campbell rode up to Lieutenant Bridge,\* the commander of the battery, and complimented him handsomely upon its performance: "I am an old soldier, sir," he said, "and know when soldiers mean work;" and he spoke words of high approval of the readiness and soldierly bearing of his little command, and directed him to repeat his words to the men, which Bridge, with justifiable pride, did on the spot. And when Sir Colin a few days afterwards, on his return march to Cawnpore, was crossing the Bunnee Bridge, which

\* The officers of the half-troop were Lieutenant Lionel Bridge, Second Lieutenant Gordon (now Lieutenant-General Sir Benjamin Lumsden Gordon, K.C.B.), and Assistant-Surgeon Busteed (now Brigade-Surgeon Henry Elmsley Busteed, M.D., C.I.E., late Mintmaster at Calcutta). Lieutenant Bridge afterwards obtained a Brevet-Majority, and died while commanding a battery of Royal Horse Artillery.

was held by the 27th Madras Infantry, he said in the course of a conversation with their commander, Colonel Fischer : " By the by, I must not omit to tell you what I thought of your Madras Horse Artillery," and repeated his encomiums on Lieutenant Bridge's troop.

While the Commander-in-Chief was advancing upon Lucknow, a strong body of the enemy, thinking, probably, that the Martinière would be denuded of troops, stealthily crossed the canal, and tried to carry it with a rush. But they were seen from the roof, and their attempt was repulsed with loss by Lieutenant Watson's\* troop of the 1st Punjab Cavalry and the Madras Horse Artillery guns.

After the relief and evacuation of the Residency, the half-troop Madras Horse Artillery formed part of Sir Colin's rearguard during the retrograde movement on Cawnpore, and was afterwards sent as escort to the convoy of women and children rescued from Lucknow on its way from Cawnpore to Allahabad. As soon as the convoy was out of danger, Lieutenant Bridge brought his guns back to Cawnpore in company with a battalion of the Rifle Brigade under Colonel Alfred Horsford, which had been met on the road, in time to take part in the fighting with the Gwalior contingent and Tantia Topi's army. On December 5 the two guns were engaged at the outposts with the Gwalior Artillery, which overmatched them both in number and in weight of metal ; and the Madras gunners had hard work to hold their own, and sustained many casualties. One horse gunner, who was bringing a cartridge from the limber, was struck by a shrapnel bullet on the hand and severely wounded ; but he did not drop the cartridge, but went on and delivered it as if on parade. The European troop sergeant and the Eurasian farrier attached to the battery were both severely wounded.

The Commander-in-Chief himself appeared on the scene and ordered heavier guns to be brought up at once ; and on

\* Now General Sir J. Watson, v.c., g.c.b.



their arrival the Horse Artillery guns were retired out of action. The next day they had their revenge, pursuing the routed Gwalior contingent for fourteen miles along the Calpee Road till some of their horses dropped from fatigue. After this they rejoined the Madras Brigade under Brigadier-General Morden Carthew, which was detached to Futtehpore to keep open the communications of the army at Cawnpore with Allahabad, and to interrupt correspondence between the rebels in Oude and those in Central India.\*

On his march up from Calcutta, General Carthew had already dropped the 17th Madras Infantry at the town of Futtehpore for this purpose, he himself arriving at Cawnpore with the Artillery and the 27th Madras Infantry. This latter regiment was at once dispatched by General Windham to reopen the communications with the Commander-in-Chief at Lucknow, which had just then been interrupted by roving parties of the enemy; and it remained to safeguard them, one wing being posted at the Bunnee Bridge, midway between Cawnpore and Lucknow, and the other at the bridge of boats over the Ganges at Cawnpore. But before the communication had been re-established, Windham's force covering Cawnpore had been attacked by Tantia Topi and the Gwalior

\* An officer who served with the E Troop of Madras Horse Artillery throughout the Mutiny campaigns writes as follows: "They were all high-caste natives of soldierly bearing and of good courage. There were Musalmans, Rajputs, and others; all seemed to be actuated by the same high sense of duty. They had hard times and poor fare occasionally, but they were ever patient, cheerful, and uncomplaining, orderly and alert, ever striving to do their best. I have often heard surprise expressed at the so-called fatuous trust and belief of Bengal N.I. regimental officers in their men. No doubt in some terrible instances their confidence was misplaced, and they paid for it with their lives. But I could never acquiesce in the surprise expressed, judging from the feeling of entire faith with which the gallant men of the Native Troop of Madras Horse Artillery in the field inspired their officers. It is no exaggeration to say that I am sure they were really fond of us individually, and looked on us as their friends and protectors. Speaking for myself, I had a warm regard for every man of them, and could think no evil of them. I am sure my brother officers would have echoed this sentiment."

contingent, and after three days of desperate fighting was forced to abandon its position covering the city of Cawnpore, and to retreat into its entrenchments on the river-bank.

General Carthew commanded one of the brigades into which Windham's force was divided, but the only Madras troops left in his command were Lieutenant Stephen Chamier's Company of Native Foot Artillery (Golandāz) with four 6-pounder guns. On November 26 General Windham made a reconnaissance in force with Carthew's Brigade, and drove the advanced guard of the Gwalior army from a strong position defended by a battery of heavy guns, whose fire delayed our advance until they were silenced by Chamier's 6-pounders. The 34th Foot charged with the bayonet, capturing three guns (two 8-inch iron howitzers and one brass 6-pounder field-gun).

But the enemy's main army followed up Windham's retirement, and on the 27th attacked him in his position before Cawnpore. He had less than 2,000 men to hold an extended position against at least 15,000, two-thirds of whom were regular troops, and a numerous cavalry and artillery, with one field battery of 18-pounders and other heavy guns; his own guns were both fewer and of lighter calibre, and he had no cavalry.

General Carthew's brigade formed the right wing of the little army, with Chamier's four 6-pounders for its whole artillery. The attack of the enemy on Carthew's position was checked by their fire. An eye-witness\* wrote: "The admirable practice of our guns, and the rapidity with which they were served, speedily brought the enemy's fire completely under, compelling them to shift their position more than once." Malleeson says: "Chamier's four 6-pounders were at hand. They had had to make a short detour to avoid the narrow streets; but they came up with all possible haste, and, worked magnificently by the swarthy

\* Colonel C. H. Drury, afterwards of the Madras Staff Corps, who was Brigadier-General Carthew's Brigade Major on this occasion.

gunners of the Madras Army, they silenced and drove back the guns of the enemy." But the left brigade had been obliged to fall back before the superior numbers and heavier artillery of the assailants, and the whole British force was withdrawn to an interior position, abandoning its old ground to the enemy.

The battle was renewed with fury on the 28th. General Windham had withdrawn some of Carthew's force, including two of the Madras Native Artillery guns, to strengthen his left, but unfortunately this day the brunt of the attack fell on the British right. The two guns that had been detached took part in Colonel Walpole's successful counter-attack on the left; and in the desperate fighting that took place on the right, Chamier's two small guns did all the mischief of which they were capable, in the words of Malleson's graphic narrative. He tells how General Carthew, when sore pressed by the overwhelming numbers of the foe, brought up Chamier's two guns to the front: "These, unlimbering, replied to the enemy's fire, and, splendidly served by the Madras gunners, in the course of twenty minutes not only silenced it, but compelled the enemy to withdraw their pieces." But Carthew had no cavalry to follow up this success. At a later stage of the battle, Malleson, describing the sore straits to which Carthew was reduced, says: "He had but two guns with which to reply, but the gallant Chamier and the sturdy Madrasis worked them with a will." And the eyewitness referred to above writes: "Our Madras artillerymen, who had served their guns with admirable steadiness, were nearly all wounded; therefore, withdrawing our guns under cover of the infantry, and strengthening our outposts, we fell back in good order to our old position" (they had advanced to deliver a counter-attack).

That night the advanced guard of Sir Colin Campbell's army arrived from Lucknow, and the leaders of the Gwalior force would not risk another attack; and a few days later they were themselves attacked by Sir Colin, and their

army defeated and dispersed. During this time the Madras Golundauze were employed in holding the entrenchment and in frustrating the attempts of the enemy on the bridge of boats across the Ganges.

The courage of these Madras native artillerymen won the highest praise from all who witnessed it. General Dupuis, R.A., commanding the artillery of Sir Colin's army, wrote to Lieutenant Chamier after the battle: "I am most happy to be able to testify to the gallant manner in which you and your gunners fought your guns upon the different occasions."

The following statement is taken from regimental orders issued by the Commandant of Artillery at Madras, dated September 26, 1859:

"The Native Artillery, both Horse and Foot, have proved themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them by the Government during this eventful crisis, and the manner in which they worked their guns on all occasions, but more particularly at Cawnpore on November 26, 27, and 28, 1857 (when it is not too much to say that but for their steady gallantry the most disastrous consequences might have ensued), was the theme of admiration from all under whom they served."

Lieutenant Chamier was rewarded with a Brevet-Majority and a C.B. Brevet-Major R. Cadell, with two guns which had been detached into Chota Nagpore, rejoined General Carthew's force when it was employed in patrolling the Doab from Futtehpoore, and assumed command of the Golundauze Company, and Lieutenant Chamier rejoined his own company of Europeans under the command of Major Cotter, with which he served during the siege of Lucknow and the subsequent campaign in Oude, taking part in sixteen battles and minor engagements. He subsequently wrote thus of the natives attached to this battery of European gunners:

"The drivers of the battery were Madras natives. We were engaged in several actions under General Sir T. H.



Franks on our march from Benares to Lucknow, also during the siege of Lucknow under Lord Clyde, and afterwards in the pursuit of Kunwar Singh, and in several engagements under Sir Edward Lugard, and in the vicinity of Azimghur and the Jugdespore jungles. The conduct of the battery drivers was soldier-like and brave, and I never witnessed a single instance to the contrary. They drove fearlessly and well, and their conduct was favourably noticed in my presence by Colonel Maberly, R.A., who commanded the artillery with General Franks' force."

The Native Gun-Lascars of this battery also showed great courage and devotion, often assisting in working the guns, and several of them received the Order of Merit as a reward for conspicuous gallantry.

The C Company Madras Sappers\* had proved most useful in the march from Calcutta to Cawnpore in repairing the bridges on the Grand Trunk Road which had been destroyed by the mutineers to impede or delay the march of our troops. Immediately after their arrival at Cawnpore they were sent on to repair the Bunnee Bridge on the road to Lucknow, and then joined the camp of Sir Colin Campbell, who was preparing to relieve the beleaguered Residency. The Madras Sappers were in the van of his advance, blowing open the gates and breaching the walls of the fortified buildings that blocked his way. They were the first to hoist the British flag on the roof of the Martinière. After the relief of the Residency they were left with Sir James Outram's force at the Alumbagh, and took the chief part in the fortification of his position, working all day and every day, and sometimes all night also.

Sir James Outram wrote thus of them: "Their skill as workmen, their industry, their cheerful alacrity and general good conduct commanded the respect

\* The services of the B, C, and L Companies of Madras Sappers in the Mutiny campaigns are fully described by Colonel H. M. Vibart in his work, "The Military History of the Madras Engineers and Pioneers from 1743 up to the present time."



of all who saw them at Alumbagh ; and their coolness and bravery when called upon, as they were on every occasion of attack on our position, to act as soldiers, was conspicuous."

When Lord Clyde's army was again assembled for the final siege of Lucknow, the company of Madras Sappers was included with the Royal Engineers and Sikh Pioneers in the Engineer Brigade commanded by Colonel Robert Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala). After the capture of the city they were attached first to the field force under Sir Hope Grant, and afterwards to various flying columns employed in the reduction of the forts of the Oude Talukdars. At Koili they lost their gallant commander, Captain Scott, of the Madras Engineers, who was killed while reconnoitring the fort. The company had been employed continuously in marching and fighting for eighteen months, when, in January, 1859, it recrossed the Ganges and returned to the Madras Presidency. One havildar and three privates received the Order of Merit for conspicuous gallantry. At that time the companies of Madras Sappers and Miners were officered indiscriminately from the corps of Madras Engineers and from Madras regiments of infantry ; and the C Company, and also the L Company, which accompanied General Whitlock's field force, were officered chiefly by captains and subalterns from native infantry regiments.

After the battle of Cawnpore, General Carthew's Madras Brigade was moved to Futtehpore in the Doab to watch the bridges and fords on the Ganges and the Jumna, and to separate the rebel armies in Central India from those in Oude and Rohilkund. This task was rendered doubly difficult, and the duties of the force doubly harassing, by the absolute want of mounted men. The Commander-in-Chief was unable to spare them any, being himself urgently in need of cavalry. All the regular cavalry regiments of the Bengal army and two-thirds of the irregular cavalry had either mutinied or been disarmed to prevent their mutiny-

ing; and the 4th and 6th Regiments of Madras Light Cavalry, which formed part of General Whitlock's Field Force in Bundelkund were urgently requisitioned, and marched through a hostile country swarming with rebels and mutineers to the banks of the Ganges; the 4th Light Cavalry was employed in Behar, and furnished squadrons and troops to the various field forces and flying columns which pursued the bands of mutineers and rebels in the disturbed districts, or protected the hitherto undisturbed districts from their incursions.

On March 21, 1858, Colonel Milman, who was in command of a force detailed for the protection of the town and district of Azimghur, heard that the rebel chief Kunwar Singh had arrived at Atrauliya with a large following. Milman had with him 200 men of his own regiment, the 37th Foot, a troop of the 4th Madras Cavalry, and two light guns. With these he marched to attack the enemy, who outnumbered him ten to one, and who had many disciplined soldiers among them. He came upon their advanced guard posted in some mango groves in front of Atrauliya, and attacked them and drove them back, the Madras troopers behaving with great dash and gallantry. But he soon came upon the main body of the enemy, and discovered that his little force was hopelessly outnumbered. He boldly assumed the offensive, but found himself outflanked, and to prevent his being surrounded he was obliged to fall back. The enemy followed him boldly, and pressed him closely, and his little force would have been cut off from its camp at Koilsa had not a timely and gallant charge of the Madras Cavalry driven back the pursuers and enabled the guns and infantry to disengage themselves. The camp was reached, but it was not defensible against the threatened attack, and he abandoned it to the enemy and retreated to Azimghur, whence he sent off expresses calling for aid. The enemy soon appeared before the town in great force. On the 27th the Madras Cavalry made a sortie upon them, supported by British infantry and two guns, but they could

make but little impression on the superior forces of the besiegers, and retreated into their entrenchments. The town was ultimately relieved by a column under Lord Mark Ker, and Kunwar Singh made a masterly retreat southward in order to cross the Ganges into his native jungle of Jugdespore. Colonel Cumberlege, with the 4th Madras Light Cavalry, was patrolling the left bank to intercept him, but Kunwar Singh managed to throw him off the scent by false intelligence, and while the Colonel was waiting ready to pounce upon him at Ballia he crossed the river in the night at Seopore Ghât, seven miles lower down the river, where his friends and adherents had secretly collected boats. His British pursuers arrived upon the scene only in time to sink one boat and to capture 200 of his men who were still on the north bank. The 4th Madras Cavalry soon after crossed the river in pursuit, and was employed for the next six months in the harassing guerilla warfare, and fatiguing marches of the campaign in the Jugdespore jungles. In November, 1858, they had succeeded in driving the rebels into the Kaimur hills, where they could only be followed and tracked by infantry.

The 6th Madras Cavalry reached Allahabad and entered Eastern Oude, where they were employed during the campaign of 1858 in the pursuit and dispersion of the rebel bands. One troop of theirs accompanied the column under Brigadier-General Berkeley, C.B., which was employed in the reduction of the forts of Dahain, Tirul, Bherpore, and others held against us by the revolted Oude Talukdars. The grey squadron of the regiment at one time furnished the escort of the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Clyde, and was praised by Sir William Russell, the war correspondent of the *Times*, who recorded his opinion of the Madras Light Cavalry as "a most efficient set of men." They continued the chase of the rebels and mutineers under Nana Sahib and his brother, Bala Rao, until the last of the bands with those leaders had been driven into the jungles across

the Nepal frontier, where they were lost sight of, and are believed to have perished from disease and privations.

During the greater part of the year 1858 the 40th Madras Infantry, which was stationed at Cuttack, was employed against the rebels in the district of Sumbulpore in Orissa. Two of its companies stormed the pass of Sherghatti, and many skirmishes took place. The British officers and native ranks of the regiment suffered much more from fever in the unhealthy jungles than from the enemy, who carried on a harassing guerilla warfare, depending much more upon the unhealthiness of the climate and the difficulties of the country than on their own prowess. A wing of the 5th Madras Infantry from Bundelkund also joined in the operation of hunting down the rebels, which was finally accomplished towards the close of 1858.

#### THE FUTTEHPORE MOVABLE COLUMN.

After the defeat and flight of the Gwalior Contingent, which had recrossed the Jumna to Calpee, Sir Colin occupied himself in preparations for the renewal of the campaign in Oude, and for the recapture of Lucknow. He dispatched Brigadier-General Carthew to Futtehpore, with instructions to clear the Doab (the delta of the Ganges and the Jumna) of rebel bands and to interrupt the communications and prevent the passage of any reinforcements between the rebels and mutineers in Central India and those in Oude. General Carthew had for this purpose the half-troop of Madras Horse Artillery with two guns, Lieutenant Chamier's Company of Foot Artillery with four guns, the 17th Madras Infantry, and the Rifle Companies of the 1st and 36th regiments of Madras Infantry. The 27th Madras Infantry continued to guard the bridges and patrol the road between Cawnpore and the Alum Bagh, and after the capture of Lucknow, it was employed to garrison that city. General Carthew's instructions forbade him to cross the Ganges or the Jumna, and he could only watch the large bodies of mutineers assembled on the right

bank of the Jumna at the gháts or crossing-places of Chillatara, Serowlie, Hamirpore, and Calpee, and frustrate their attempts at crossing. Meanwhile he had to clear the district of rebel bands; and as the people generally sympathized with the mutineers, his operations were greatly hampered by want of information.

However, after he had burnt the village of Chandpore as a punishment for harbouring rebels, the inhabitants generally became more fearful, and more careful of incurring his displeasure. As his little force was much worn by constant marching and ceaseless watching, in February the Chief sent them a reinforcement of a troop of the 8th Bengal Irregular Cavalry\* and four companies of the 80th Foot under Lieut.-Colonel Christie, of that regiment. General Carthew then formed a movable column out of half his force, which constantly patrolled the roads of the district and the banks of the rivers, relieving it after a certain time by the other half. Colonel Christie commanded the movable column until the end of May, when he was relieved by Major Middleton, of the 17th Madras Infantry. A detailed account of all the services performed by this column would far exceed the limits of this paper. When the armies of Sir Hugh Rose and Major-General Whitlock, coming up from the south, began to draw near to Calpee and Banda, the rebels made strenuous efforts to escape northwards across the Doab into Oude. As most of the boats on the river were in their hands, and the movable column was so weak in cavalry, it was impossible always to prevent their escape; but they were forced to avoid the roads and abandon their guns and baggage, making their way by night across the fields. Many were captured, among others a notorious rebel chief called Jodah Singh. A price had been set upon his head by the Government, and he was hung over the gateway of Kudgwah, near the spot where Colonel

\* This regiment remained loyal during the Mutiny, and is now the 6th King Edward's Own Cavalry.



Powell had been killed in a fight with him in the previous November. He was a tall, heavy man, and when he was strung up the rope broke with his weight, and he fell to the ground. As he was still alive, his captors strangled him as he lay on the ground. A nephew of his pluckily crossed the river in the night with a few followers, and succeeded in carrying off the body to give it honourable cremation in the rebel camp.

Towards the end of April communications were opened with General Whitlock's Madras column, which had occupied Banda and Kirwee, and this greatly added to the success of the operations. On May 9 Major Middleton surprised a large body of mutineers in their bivouac, and drove them back across the Jumna with heavy loss. He received a Brevet Lieut.-Colonelcy for this service. On May 15 Sir Hugh Rose reached the banks of the Jumna and opened communications with Major Middleton, and at his request Middleton crossed the river and captured the town of Humeerpore, driving out the rebels. But after Sir Hugh had driven the rebel army from Calpee, it retreated across the Doab into Oude, and Major Middleton's force was too unequal in strength to oppose its passage. General Carthew made a forced march to support him with all his force, and reinforcements were sent from Cawnpore to join him; but the mutineers also made forced marches, and effected their escape.

Shortly afterwards General Carthew was removed to a superior command, and Colonel Babington of the 17th Madras Infantry succeeded as next senior officer to the command of the brigade. It continued to furnish the movable column until September, 1858, when it was amalgamated with Major-General Whitlock's field force, which had occupied all the stations on the right bank of the Jumna.

The 17th Madras Infantry crossed the Ganges into Oude, and with the 6th Madras Light Cavalry assisted in the final driving operations in that country by which it was finally cleared of the rebels.

## GENERAL WHITLOCK'S FIELD FORCE IN CENTRAL INDIA.

When Sir Colin Campbell assumed the chief command of the army in India, he planned a scheme of combined operations for the reconquest of the provinces and territories occupied and possessed by the mutineers and rebels. While the main strength of our forces under his immediate command was to be employed in the recovery of Oude and Rohilkand, two other armies were to be formed from the troops of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies respectively to operate against the rebels in Central India. The Bombay column, under the command of Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., was to assemble at Mhow, and to march thence *via* Jhansi upon Calpee, on the southern bank of the Jumna, clearing the country of rebels and mutineers as it advanced. The Madras column, under Brigadier-General Whitlock,\* was to rendezvous at Kamptee, the cantonment of Nagpore, and from thence march northward through the disaffected districts and unite with the force under Sir Hugh Rose at Calpee, which was the headquarters of the mutineers south of the Jumna.

This force consisted of the 12th Royal Lancers, two troops of Madras Horse Artillery, and three companies of Foot Artillery; and two infantry battalions—the 43rd Light Infantry and the 3rd Madras Europeans. Also of the following native troops of the Madras Army: the 6th and 7th regiments of Light Cavalry, the L Company of Sappers, and the 1st, 5th, 19th, and 50th Regiments of Infantry. The force was organized in one Cavalry, one Artillery, and two Infantry Brigades. The 4th Madras Cavalry, the 33rd Madras Infantry, and two companies

\* General (afterwards Sir George) Whitlock had commanded the 3rd Regiment of Madras Native (Palamcottah) Light Infantry, and had been transferred from it to the command of the 3rd Madras European Regiment (now the 2nd Battalion Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers) when that corps was first raised in 1853.

of the 28th, together with a squadron of the 2nd Cavalry Hyderabad Contingent\* and a detachment of Nagpore Irregular Infantry, were already at Jubbulpore, 150 miles further to the north, engaged in operations against the Jubbulpore and Sangor mutineers and rebels who infested the district.

Owing to the long distance which some of the corps had to traverse (the Royal Lancers, the 43rd Foot, and the 19th Madras Infantry had to march from Bangalore), the force was not assembled at Kamptee before the middle of January, 1858. On the 23rd General Whitlock marched, and arrived at Jubbulpore on February 6. From thence he marched on Saugor, taking the 4th Madras Cavalry and the Hyderabad Rissala on with him. But Sir Hugh Rose, whose force had been much more rapidly concentrated, had reached Saugor on February 3, and relieved the garrison of European officers and artillerymen, who had been shut up in the fort for six months. Whitlock marched through Saugor; then, diverging to the north-east, marched through Bundelkund upon Banda, the seat of the Nawab, who was the chief leader and instigator of the rebels in that province.

The Nawab had with him the 23rd and 50th Regiments of Bengal Infantry, who had mutinied at Banda, and some cavalry and artillery of the Gwalior contingent, besides his own rabble army. He placed his regular troops in ambush at Kabrai on Whitlock's road, and the British marched straight into the trap. But their advanced guard of Lancers and Horse Artillery, though surprised, were not confounded, and responded to the enemy's attack with such alacrity that the mutineers took to flight at once, and escaped under cover of the darkness. They rejoined the Nawab, who took up a strong position in front of the town of Banda, with his front and flanks

\* The services of the Hyderabad Contingent in the Mutiny campaigns are fully given in Major Reginald G. Burton's "History of the Hyderabad Contingent," published in 1905.

protected by ravines and watercourses. His army mustered 7,000 fighting men, of whom more than 2,000 were regular troops.

General Whitlock arrived in front of the enemy's position on the morning of April 19 with only half his force, the second brigade being several marches in the rear, but he at once moved to the attack. He sent Colonel Apthorp with two Horse Artillery guns and detachments of the 12th Lancers, Hyderabad Cavalry, 3rd Europeans, and 1st Native Infantry to turn the enemy's right, while the main body attacked them in front. The first gun was fired about 5 a.m., and by noon the position was forced and the enemy in full flight. The difficulties of the ground had retarded the attack much more than the resistance of the enemy. The Bengal mutineers would not wait to cross bayonets with the Madras sepoys. Seventeen guns were captured, and about 500 of the enemy were killed. The British casualties only amounted to forty, among whom was one officer killed—Ensign Colbeck of the 3rd Madras Europeans. The Nawab, with 2,000 followers, fled to Calpee. General Whitlock proposed to follow him, but waited for the rest of his forces to come up. These were strung out along his line of march, having been detached to clear outlying districts of the rebel bands infesting them. The whole force was not reassembled at Banda before the middle of May, and before the move was made the General received the news that Sir Hugh Rose had dispersed the rebel force at Calpee and captured that place on May 24.

At the same time he received an order direct from Lord Canning instructing him to march on Kirwee, the Rajah of which was also in revolt against the British authority, though he himself was hardly responsible, as he was a lad of only nine years old, and the State affairs were in the hands of his relatives and Ministers. He possessed a treasure of nearly a million sterling, and if the rulers of Kirwee had not taken the side of the rebellion this treasure

would have been seized by the mutineers; but it was destined to fall into worthier hands. General Whitlock left Banda on June 2 and marched upon Kirwee. Not a shot was fired to oppose his advance, and the young Rajah came out and surrendered to him on his approach. The British troops entered Kirwee and took possession of the treasure. Much booty had also been captured at Banda, and the prize taken by General Whitlock's column exceeded by far any amount of prize-money which had fallen to the lot of the troops in any former Indian campaign. It is a striking example of the blindness of Fortune that the greatest spoil should have fallen to the lot of the force which took the least risks and did the smallest amount of fighting of any engaged during the war. The whole of the booty taken at Banda and Kirwee was, by the decision of the Court of Admiralty, with the exception of a share allotted to Lord Clyde as Commander-in-Chief in India, divided among the officers and soldiers of Major-General Whitlock's force.

After the capture of Kirwee, General Whitlock left a garrison of 100 men of the 1st Madras Infantry, under Captain Woodland, to garrison the fort there; a few invalids and convalescents of the 43rd Light Infantry were also left in the place. The General proceeded towards Calpee in pursuit of the flying enemy. Taking advantage of his absence, a rebel leader named Rummust Singh, who at different times gave us a great deal of trouble, made a sudden swoop upon Kirwee at the head of a considerable force. Captain Woodland abandoned the town and shut himself up in the fort, which he defended gallantly for two days against the repeated assaults of the enemy. On the third day Rummust Singh's artillery, which had been left behind by the celerity of his march, arrived, and the position of the besieged now seemed desperate, when General Whitlock, with his cavalry and horse artillery, arrived on the scene. He had heard of the danger of Kirwee at Mahoba, and, immediately sounding to boot and saddle with his



mounted troops, covered the ninety miles to Kirwee in thirty-six hours. On his approach Rummust Singh raised the siege and retired to the neighbouring heights of Punwarree, where he took up a strong position. As soon as General Whitlock's infantry arrived he led his troops to the assault of the rebel position and carried it, routing and scattering their forces. General Whitlock's troops were for some time longer employed in the pacification of Bundelkund, hunting down the scattered bands of rebels, and destroying the forts in which they found a refuge. The L Company of Madras Sappers had plenty of occupation of this kind, and also in preparing quarters for the troops who were cantoned along the line of the Jumna.

It was not the only Madras Sapper Company employed in Central India. The B Company had been engaged in the Persian War, and had just returned from the Gulf to Bombay when the Mutiny broke out in Bengal, and the Madrasis at once volunteered for service against the mutineers. Their services were accepted by the Government of Bombay, and the company was sent to Mhow to join the force which was being collected there for the campaign in Central India. It took part in all the sieges and battles of that brilliant campaign, serving as infantry in the line of battle when there was no work to do in its own special line. Its sappers built the batteries for the bombardment of Jhansi, and planted the ladders for the escalade of its walls. The company was in action eighteen times in the field and in the assault of fortified places, besides being constantly under fire during siege operations. One of its officers, Lieutenant H. N. D. Prendergast,\* who was employed as Field Engineer to Sir Hugh Rose's army, received the Victoria Cross for distinguished gallantry in the battle at Mundisore, and qualified for the decoration a second time at the battle of the Betwa, being severely wounded on both occasions. Two of its native officers and five of its

\* Now General Sir Harry North Dalrymple Prendergast, G.C.B., Colonel 2nd Queen's Own (Madras) Sappers and Miners.

rank and file were admitted to the Order of Merit for bravery in this campaign. The B Company took the field with 6 European officers and 120 native officers and soldiers and artificers, and it returned to Madras with a strength of 40 of all ranks, commanded by a junior subaltern, Lieutenant Gordon, after twenty months of continuous service in the field.

Sir Hugh Rose highly complimented the Madras Sappers in an order of the day, which is given *in extenso* in Colonel Vibart's "History," but is too long to be transcribed here. In it he said, "No work was too difficult for the gallantry and devotion of this company." He spoke of its "unvarying gallantry and zeal," and mentioned all of its British and native officers by name.

At the conclusion of the military operations, Lord Clyde, in his general order dated December 12, 1859, expressed his thanks to the Madras troops "for the useful service they have rendered during the past two years," and congratulated them on being "about to return to their own Presidency after a career of honourable service elsewhere." Her Majesty the Queen also graciously expressed her thanks to her Madras Native Army for its loyalty; but that loyalty met with a strange reward.

The loyalty of the populations of Southern India and the absence of any foreign frontier to the Madras Presidency made the continued maintenance of a large military force unnecessary, and the Madras Army was consequently condemned to bear the brunt of the reductions rendered necessary by the state of the Indian finances after the Mutiny. In accordance with the decision of the Government to discontinue in future the training and employment of natives of India in the artillery branch of the service, the Madras Native Artillery, which had rendered such conspicuous service in the Mutiny, was disbanded in 1860; and in the same year the 5th, 6th, and 7th Regiments of Light Cavalry were broken up. In 1862 eight regiments of infantry from the 45th to the 52nd were reduced. In

1864 four more regiments, the 18th,\* 42nd, 43rd, and 44th were disbanded. In 1882 eight more infantry regiments were reduced from Nos. 34 to 41 inclusive, and soon afterwards the 4th Madras Cavalry was broken up, in order to furnish a fourth squadron to the remaining three regiments. Since then, at different times, seven more regiments of infantry have been disbanded, and fifteen others have been converted into Punjabi regiments, and are now recruited from the Punjab. The populations of the whole Madras Presidency, which at the time of the Mutiny furnished 50,000 native soldiers of all arms, now supply recruits only for three squadrons of cavalry, nine companies of sappers, and eleven battalions of infantry—10,000 sabres and bayonets in all. It is to be devoutly hoped that the necessity may never again arise for employing the loyal native soldiers of the South of India to repress disaffection in the North of the Peninsula.

\* The 18th Madras Infantry was selected for disbandment because some of its men had robbed the cash chest of the paymaster's office at Cannanore, over which they were placed as a guard, and the native officers had endeavoured to screen the culprits.

# STRAY NOTES ON SOME PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION, IN PARTICULAR THE LAND REVENUE.\*

BY J. B. PENNINGTON, B.L. (CANTAB.).

MR. REES is too ambitious, and I cannot hope to deal with all the questions he discusses so cleverly and with so much skill and perspicacity in his most useful, and even brilliant, little book.

There are, no doubt, many causes for "the present discontents," and it may be admitted that our educational system, or want of system, as the late Sir Lepel Griffin used to say, is responsible for the "bubbling and boiling" of freedom-loving instincts, which, however, are quite unavoidable when men begin to think and realize what "freedom" has done for other nations. As Mr. Srinivasa Rau says in his little essay, "The history of the progress of the world is nothing but the history of its progress from ignorance to knowledge and from knowledge to freedom all round."

It is surely going a great deal too far to say with Mr. Rees that "in our schools pupils imbibe sedition with their daily lessons": a reasonable desire for more freedom and a greater share in the government of one's own country cannot fairly be characterized as "sedition." Education is necessarily a sort of ferment, and even if we were to confine it to reading, writing and arithmetic, we could not frame an effectual "Index Expurgatorius"; so that anyone who could read at all could read Rousseau, Macaulay *et hoc genus omne*, as much as he liked, and surely need not necessarily become "seditious." It is not less, but better

\* "The Real India," by J. D. Rees, C.I.E., M.P. Methuen, London, 1908. "The Causes of Present Discontents in India," by C. J. O'Donnell, M.P. Unwin, London, 1908. "The Present Political Unrest in India," by the Hon. K. Srinivasa Rau, Madras Legislative Council. Higginbotham and Co., Madras, 1908.

education that is wanted. The fact that English literature is full of destructive criticism of government founded on authority—the very basis of our religion being a protest against the authority of the Pope and a claim to some freedom of thought—is sufficient to prove the folly of crying out against an education which is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. We not only *cannot* go back on our policy of teaching people the principles of freedom, but we cannot possibly keep them in ignorance, even if we wished to do so. Mr. Rees makes a further mistake, I think, in asserting, as he seems to do on p. 163, that Brahminical influence is necessarily hostile to the British Government. Mr. Srinivasa Rau is a shining example to the contrary; and, of course, there are, and always have been, many more Brahmins who have been the sanest of all reformers, as well as the most highly educated of men.

I almost think our versatile author would have done better to confine himself to the really indispensable work of correcting erroneous statements made, not only by Indian "agitators," but by serious ex-officials like Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Henry Cotton, or even Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, though he can hardly be taken seriously.

Mr. Keir Hardie's ideas about the land-tax of India may or may not be worthy of consideration; but when two officers like Mr. Rees and Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, who have served their full time in the Indian Civil Service, differ so hopelessly as to the justice and reasonableness of that taxation, there is surely a case for inquiry by some unbiassed tribunal, if such a body can be found; and that, to do him justice, is all that Mr. O'Donnell demands, following in the lead of the Famine Union, which years ago, under the guidance of Lord Ripon, insisted on the need for a serious economic inquiry into the condition of some typical villages. It is one of the mysteries of English government that, as soon as Lord Ripon was in a position, as a member of the Government, to insist with effect, he never seems to have said another word on the subject.



It is really almost absurd to expect "loyalty" from our Indian fellow-subjects. They might possibly be loyal if they had everywhere equal rights; but, as things are, all we have a right to expect is a passive acquiescence in the present system of government, tempered by constant criticism and a constant demand for an ever-increasing share in the government of their own country. Such criticism is not only quite legitimate, but should be encouraged so long as it is expressed in legitimate ways and does not obviously aim at exciting ill-will towards the existing government, which only needs reformation and improvement, not destruction.

We shall never be able to discuss Indian problems to advantage until we decide which of the opposing champions is right on the elementary question of land assessment. It seems almost incredible that such enormous discrepancies should be found in the evidence of Mr. Rees and Mr. O'Donnell on what, at first sight, would seem a very simple question; and, unfortunately, neither of the combatants goes into sufficient detail in criticizing his opponent's case. They both follow the fatally easy plan of repeating their own case and ignoring that of their adversary. Mr. Rees, for instance (on p. 125), says that "there is an increasing land revenue accompanied by a diminishing incidence on the cultivated area and a steady rise in the receipts from salt, excise, customs and income-tax"—which are all, no doubt, "satisfactory proofs of developing resources"—but he takes no notice, I think, of Mr. O'Donnell's detailed charges of "rack-taxing" in chapter x. of his little book, though he does seem to expose one outrageous and most disgraceful misquotation of Sir William Hunter, which actually forms one of the texts of that chapter. Such a misquotation can only be the result of a deliberate intention to mislead or the very grossest carelessness, and it is difficult to say which alternative is the more discreditable to a man in his position who is posing as an instructor of the "colossally ignorant" British public. The grave fact that, on p. 109,

he deliberately quotes an exploded charge of Mr. Rogers as to the Madras Presidency, of which neither he nor Mr. Rogers had any personal knowledge, without even warning his innocent readers that his indictment had been completely answered to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State, who, as between two rival Presidencies, may be fairly considered an impartial judge, makes one feel very doubtful what such a presentation of the case really means. The accusation is repeated exactly as made, and the result of the inquiry, so adverse to Mr. Rogers, is not even alluded to at all. It is difficult to imagine a worse instance of *suppressio veri*.

Other equally ill-founded assertions of Mr. O'Donnell Mr. Rees does notice, but hardly, I think, as fully as such "poisonous misrepresentation"\* deserves. It is extraordinary how men will pick and choose just what evidence suits their case and ignore what completely upsets it. All these critics of the government of India are fond of quoting figures which show from 40 to 100 millions—one in three of the population—"living in perennial hunger"† with an "average" income of from Rs. 15 to Rs. 27 a head per annum, but they seldom try to explain the late Mr. Digby's candid admission that about 60 millions of the people are at the same time "fairly prosperous."

Mr. O'Donnell makes much of the increase of the land revenue in India from £15,500,000 twenty-five years ago to £19,500,000 now, but says not a word of the areas cultivated at each date or of the increased area brought under irrigation. In the same way he says the revenue "increased by 8 per cent. in twenty-four months, or at the rate of 40 per cent. in a single decade"—again without giving the areas affected and irrigated, and without giving any reason whatever for assuming that the same rate of increase will continue indefinitely. As it only increased

\* I borrow this phrase from Mr. Nevinson's account of "The Real India," with many thanks for the very appropriate adjective.

† The same proportion as those who die paupers in this wealthy country.

25 per cent. in more than a quarter of a century, the increase is just as likely to be only 10 per cent. in ten years.\* Such reckless misuse of arithmetic is surely unique, and one may well agree that it "would be statesmanlike for the Secretary of State to investigate the allegation that the taxation on land" (and not drought) "is the *chief* cause of famine,"† though a critic like Lord Morley would probably reply that it is ridiculous even to imagine such a thing. Still, it is true that of late years there has been an unwholesome tendency to raise the assessment unduly, especially, it would seem, in Bombay; and that is a subject to which the Secretary of State might well direct his attention.

There is certainly one of Mr. O'Donnell's charges which requires more explanation than was given in answer to his question as to the maximum charge of 65 *per cent. of the landlord's rent*, which is said to be occasionally levied in the Central Provinces. This means, I believe, that in some cases, (probably very few,) the joint proprietors, the State and the State-created landlord, or middleman, share the *landlord's rent* in the proportion of two-thirds and one-

\* Who would imagine, after reading Mr. O'Donnell's denunciation of "rack taxing" in the Punjab (p. 109), that the area actually cultivated increased from 19,313,636 acres in 1899-1900 to 25,065,266 acres in 1904-05, and that the incidence of taxation at the same time had actually fallen from R.1 5s. 8p. an acre in the earlier period to R.1 1s. 5p. at the latter? The enclosure to a paper recently published, entitled "Land Revenue Assessments in the Punjab since 1855," is a complete answer to Mr. O'Donnell's wild and reckless charges. It shows, in brief, that the incidence of taxation in 1855 was R.1 2s. 5p., that it *steadily declined* till 1889-90, rose again to R.1 2s. 10p. in 1894-95 — coincidentally with the enormous decrease in the gold value of silver and a great increase in irrigation—and attained its very moderate maximum of R.1 5s. 8p. in 1899-1900, when the irrigated area was no less than 72 per cent. of the whole area cultivated, and in 1904-05 was actually one anna an acre *less* than in 1855, though the area irrigated had increased by millions of acres in the meantime.

Again, the selling price of land has steadily risen from thirty-five times the assessment in 1884-85 to *eighty-four* times in 1904-05. These figures seem to demand Mr. O'Donnell's careful attention.

† It is curious that in the memorial of certain retired Indian officials referred to afterwards Mr. O'Donnell signed a statement diametrically opposed to this.

third—just as, at the initiation of the Permanent Settlement, the Government took ten-elevenths and left the tax-collector one-eleventh only for his trouble. That arrangement was soon found to be unworkable, and though the so-called “landlords” (Málguzárs) of the Central Provinces were quite recent creations of Sir Richard Temple, and rather farmers of the revenue than real zemindars, it is not likely that such a system can last. Moreover, in the Central Provinces the so-called “tenant,” who is really a ryot with occupancy rights, is specially protected against the “Málguzár,” or landlord, and, according to the Famine Commission presided over by Sir Anthony MacDonnell—a strong tenant-right man if ever there was one—pays *less than 4 per cent.* of his crop by way of rent, the 65 per cent. of the Málguzár’s\* “assets” being, in fact, 65 per cent. of this 4 per cent! Mr. O’Donnell is evidently a gentleman who jumps at conclusions without the least understanding the facts he is dealing with. He should study the elementary work of B. H. Baden-Powell, revised by T. W. Holderness.

As noted above, however, there are cases where the assessment has been seriously enhanced, and, no matter how low it may have been before, to suddenly double the share of the produce demanded by Government must always be an intolerable hardship, and must dislocate all contracts about such land in a way that is not worthy of any civilized country. If land is to be cultivated with success there must be some limit to the exactions of the landlord, even if he is represented by the State; and from this point of view there is something to be said for the old idea of a “permanent settlement” with the ryot which Mr. Rees, in the heading to chapter iii. and in his concluding chapter (p. 330), says is “desirable,” though his argument itself seems to me to lead to an opposite conclusion; and personally I do not think it is at all certain that the ryotwári owner would be permanently benefited, whatever the immediate effect might be. The chances are, I think,

\* This was explained on May 21, 1908, in reply to a question by Mr. Rees.



that the creation of so many small zemindars would end in a system of subinfeudation even more difficult to deal with than it was in Bengal. This, however, is a fair subject for a debate which has been going on for well over a hundred years already, and will go on to the end; but how land nationalizers like Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Henry Cotton can consistently advocate the creation in India of innumerable landlords of the worst type passes all comprehension. Sir Antony MacDonnell was, I think, wiser, and certainly more consistent, in attempting to settle the land in Ireland on ryotwari principles. He failed in this, thanks to the "colossal ignorance" of the House of Commons, and I have no doubt that in fifty years the condition of Ireland under its new peasant proprietors will be worse than ever.

The worst of all these controversial works is their one-sidedness. Both Mr. Rees and Mr. O'Donnell compare very unfavourably in this respect with the Hon. K. Srinivasa Rau, whose great merit always is his most refreshing candour. He seems to follow Tolstoy's golden rule, "Let everyone reform himself to begin with," and the result is "a calm and dispassionate judgment," which is not so conspicuous in either of the volumes under review—or, perhaps, in my remarks on Mr. O'Donnell.

"To bridge, and not to widen, the gulf that now unfortunately divides" (some of) "the people and the Government in India should be the object of every one who loves India and England, because England and India cannot do without each other for a good long time to come;" and it is a curious fact, I believe, that all these champions who belabour each other so unmercifully are quite agreed in their love for India, and in their sincere desire to do the best they can for her. They only differ, as doctors so often do, as to what is best for her, one taking the Liberal and the other the Conservative view of the situation. If we could eliminate the "extremists" on both sides, there would be more chance of agreement. The unscrupulous or ill-informed partisan says England has governed India for



150 years; the reasonable man, like Mr. Srinivasa Rau, says fifty. Mr. Rees, a professional and practised translator, translates "Bande Mataram" as meaning "Hail Káli!" (Goddess of Destruction); a conciliatory advocate would admit that its usual meaning nowadays is "Hail Motherland!" though even then it *may* be a very offensive expression: it all depends on the surrounding circumstances and the way it is used. Certainly as a "war-cry" shouted at an official of the existing Government, however humble, it would be distinctly "seditious," and calculated to provoke a breach of the peace.

To quote from Mr. Srinivasa Rau again, "Party spirit should not be our guide, but justice and truth." He adds that he "cannot understand Mr. Morley's indictment of educated Indians," and it is most likely Mr. Morley was misunderstood. He is the last man to object to a man because he is too much educated. That would no doubt be as absurd as "the position of those who preach the doctrine that England's policy in governing India has been so selfish and unjust as to deserve hate and ill-will." No doubt "the truth lies somewhere between these extremes," and the one doctrine may have led to the other. "What," says Mr. Srinivasa Rau again, "is the greatest characteristic of English civilization? Freedom. Freedom from every sort of *unjust* restraint; from every system of tyranny, social, religious or political; from every system of absolutism and unchecked authority."

When a Mahratta Brahmin writes and acts as Mr. Srinivasa Rau does, we have no need to apologize for our much-criticized English education. The French in India are not afraid to insist on every Indian subject of theirs learning the language of Danton and Robespierre, and surely our reformers, even in the time of Charles I., were not such firebrands as the heroes of the Reign of Terror. Even if they were, there is certainly no help for it now. To put the whole History of England on the "Index" is impracticable, even if it were expedient. The very candid

Mr. Srinivasa Rau says *his* language can only teach blind obedience and servility, and cannot be instinct with the spirit of progress. In this he is, perhaps, unfair to his own vernacular (whichever it may be), but there can be no mistaking the difference produced by education in English and education in any Southern vernacular, quite apart from the absence of high-class literature in the latter.

Both Mr. Rees and Mr. Srinivasa Rau have suffered a good deal from careless proof-reading, and there are a few actual mistakes of fact which might easily have been corrected to the great improvement of both books. On pp. 64 and 65, for instance, Mr. Rees seems to charge the authors of "a certain memorial"\* with having recommended a "20 per cent. of the gross" standard *in lieu* of the recognized "50 per cent. of the net." That mistake was originally made by the Government of India and is still repeated, though it has frequently been pointed out that they only recommended that "50 per cent. of the net should not ordinarily exceed 20 per cent. of the gross," the idea being that a ryot who could prove that his assessment, when calculated at 50 per cent. of the net, exceeded 20 per cent. of the gross should have a right of appeal.

Mr. Rees ought also to have known that not only Gujerat but the splendidly irrigated village in the Tambraparni Valley where he himself lived for some time paid more than 20 per cent. of its produce to the Government

\* This memorial, which Mr. Rees evidently regards with no favour as a rather serious attack on the Government of which he is an almost too thick-and-thin advocate, was originally drafted by Mr. Dutt, but completely remodelled in consultation with three old Tinnevely officials, one of whom, as an ex-Director of Revenue Settlement, was peculiarly well qualified for the task. Mr. O'Donnell, on the other hand, finding some support in it for his attack on the Government, speaks of it as the work of "a very distinguished body of retired Indian officials . . . headed by Sir Richard Garth, ex-Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta," and in the margin surpasses himself by dubbing it "The Petition of a Chief Justice," the fact being that not one of the signatories except the four referred to above had even seen it till it was completed; and all accepted it, I fancy, very much on trust, especially the ex-Chief Justice!

even when he was my head assistant, though the assessment had already been *reduced* at Settlement to an *average* of Rs. 20 an acre. In my time, more than forty years ago, it paid, I think, an *average* assessment of Rs. 26 an acre on the irrigated land, and the cultivation was the finest and the crops the largest I have ever seen in any country, thus corroborating Mr. Robertson's\* hard saying, "the higher the assessment the better the cultivation," exactly the opposite of Mr. Dutt's theory and both equally exaggerations of the truth, or "terminological inexactitudes." Certainly the assessment was unfairly high as compared, for instance, with Tanjore where the land was quite as good and the river more full of fertilizing matter, but where the Brahmin landlords were so much inferior in skill or industry, (or both,) that they complained bitterly of an assessment of Rs. 14 on splendidly irrigated double-crop land as absorbing *more than half* of the gross produce! In Tinnevely similar land has paid from Rs. 20 to 30 to the Government for generations, and could be sublet in my time for anything between Rs. 50 and 90 an acre. It could hardly be *bought* for love or money, and Mr. Puckle had to pay Rs. 1,000 an acre for that on which the Tinnevely railway-station was built. These villages were so prosperous, of course, owing to an unfailing supply of water from a magnificent channel supposed to have been dug by a "Canarese" Brahmin, and hence called by the English, with their usual contempt for the proper pronunciation of foreign names, the "Canadian" channel (properly "Kannadi Aiyar's canal"). Regarded as an income-tax, (on Mr. O'Donnell's curious principles of political economy), such an assessment may well seem outrageous, but he conveniently forgets, (it seems impossible he can be ignorant of the fact,) that a ryotwari assessment includes what in this country is called "the rent," which alone, I believe, is generally calculated at one-third of the gross produce. And yet, if it wasn't for competition with cheap land in the west and

\* The then agricultural expert of the Madras Government.

cheap labour in the east, the English farmer would even now succeed in making a decent living, though paying an "income-tax" of much more than half his profits. Moreover, in India at any rate, the Government now does something to justify its claim to exact a substantial rent, because, for the last fifty years at least, systematic attention has been paid to the irrigation on which the prosperity of the country so largely depends, and considerable sums have been spent even in Tinnevely where we were so fortunate as to inherit a most admirable and almost perfect system of irrigation from our predecessors in title. And yet, notwithstanding these material advantages when we took over charge of the country, Mr. O'Donnell ought to know that land in this favoured valley was officially reported to have no "saleable value" in 1820, simply on account of the disturbed state of the country in the "good old times," of which he is so strangely enamoured, perhaps because, like so many people, he takes *omne ignotum pro magnifico*; whereas now it can hardly be bought for love or money, the only explanation being the *pax Britannica*.

The weak point about Mr. Srinivasa Rau's book is the punctuation. On one page, taken quite at random, I found ten misplaced, and therefore misleading commas, reminding me again of Mr. Robertson, the agricultural expert, who used to scatter commas broadcast in a fashion he would certainly not have approved of in agriculture—to say nothing of other printer's errors. But the little book is full of good things and sage reflections, and deserves much more notice than I have been able to give it, having already, perhaps, said more than the editor will appreciate. I dare not enter on the delicate question suggested in both Mr. O'Donnell's and Mr. Srinivasa Rau's books, that India has suffered of late years from "the Balliol manner"; but it would almost seem as if one must go to Cambridge, or elsewhere than Oxford, to cultivate the saving grace of humour.

NOTE.—This article was in type before the shocking outrage at Muzaffapore, by which two ladies and their coachman lost their lives.

## SOME INDIAN PROBLEMS.

By A. E. R.,

Wife of a Bengal Civilian.

THE problems which now confront us in India are perhaps more difficult than any we have had hitherto to solve in our national history. We are familiar enough with problems connected with native self-governing races, and long usage has made us tactful in dealing with our Colonies. But now we are face to face with certain questions, the full significance of which we can at present scarcely realize. How are we to win the sympathy and understanding of certain sections of the Indian people? How are we to check the growing distrust of our rule among the educated Bengalis? How shall we prevent the growing antagonism, which, if unchecked, may rapidly spread, impeding the efficiency of Government servants, rendering them unsympathetic in their dealings with the people, tending to serious results? Such are some of the problems we must face. Misunderstanding between governors and governed is both a cause and a consequence of the present uneasiness. The unrest which recently loomed so large in newspapers and in the public mind is no sudden thing. Its growth has been gradual, but it remained more or less unnoticed until it was brought to the surface by our recent policy. The extravagant pomp of the Delhi Durbar, held when the country was in the cruel grip of famine; the speech at the Calcutta University in which the truthfulness of Bengalis was impugned; the policy which made English education more costly by insisting on a higher standard at the Universities—all combined to irritate the educated and semi-educated classes. Finally, the Partition of Bengal, which, however necessary from an administrative point of view, was carried out in the face of opposition, appears to have convinced the Bengalis, rightly or wrongly, that, as their opinion was not sought by Government, they must find means to make it felt.



The agitation against the Partition of Bengal has never really died down. It is too skilfully fanned. The motive for partition may have been merely administrative; but many find it difficult to believe that it was never regarded by Lord Curzon as a possible way of weakening the political influence of the Bengalis, or as a means of benefiting the large Mahommedan population of Eastern Bengal. Bengali Hindus have persuaded themselves that partition was a political move on the part of Government aimed at them. In the new province the Hindus continue to believe that it was a plot hatched in favour of the Mahommedans, and hence the gradual stirring up of the racial feeling in Eastern Bengal. This feeling is aggravated and made dangerous to us by the belief of the Hindus that Government sides with the Mahommedans. The native press asserts that Government officials even encourage and abet any violence on the part of Mahommedans towards Hindus. Our known and well-tested impartiality is of no avail against the wild statements and absurd rumours which were flying about only last year.

The Partition of Bengal is thus a trump-card in the hands of Indian agitators. These men play on the minds of the masses by inflammatory speeches at public meetings, in which the plague and famines, as well as the partition, are spoken of as if they were the direct work of Government, while tales of oppression on the part of officials are spread broadcast and sown like poison in the minds of the ignorant. Among the crowds who attend these meetings public opinion is formed by the speeches made. The press influences the literate, but does not touch the illiterate classes.

But it is the hostility of the educated classes which chiefly concerns us. The vast mass of the population do not attend public meetings, and are probably contented with our rule. But there has arisen a class of Indians educated on Western lines. There is an inevitable desire on their part to have more share in the government of their country. They believe that they are as well fitted as their rulers for

the work of government, and their dislike of our rule is accentuated by a want of understanding and sympathy on our part. Sympathy is especially necessary in dealing with a sensitive people like the Bengalis. They feel themselves despised, and yet they feel that they are no longer despicable. Unfortunately, the very virtues of the Bengalis are those which we are inclined to look upon as effeminate, and we are apt to lose sight of the fact that the Bengali babu is of our own creation. We have taught him the political theories of the West; he has drunk in dogmas dear to English Liberals; and can we wonder that he now asks himself in amazement whether Mr. Morley, Secretary of State for India, can be the Mr. Morley of former days? We may say that he is foolish, but his attitude is the result of a system of education instituted and maintained by Government.

But, after all, is it not to our everlasting credit that this class of educated men has arisen under our rule? It is due to us that, broadly speaking, India is no longer intellectually static. A life which has for its ideal asceticism and self-culture is no longer regarded as sufficient. Progress is there with its ideas, and aspirations after a united India have sprung up. We may scoff at the idea of unity where all seems diversity; but it is we ourselves who, by the very work of our law courts, our education department, our newspapers, and our mission schools, are paving the way for a united India. Education and religion are the two great factors in the Indian problem. Every one knows the effect of Western education on the Indian mind, but perhaps few realize that great results are being indirectly produced by Christianity. Educated India is largely monotheistic. Christianity has affected Hinduism in a far-reaching manner, and in one which was hardly anticipated. Among educated Indians Christianity has not been accepted as a religion. The Christian Church is disliked because it is an alien Church, but there is much homage to Christ's personality among Hindus. Modern Christian ideas are penetrating

the caste system and the old religions. In this way Christianity works hand in hand with British rule, cutting through the crust of old prejudices, and awakening the educated classes to new possibilities. The present unrest in India may be very annoying, but looked at in a broad spirit it is the measure of our moral success. The question now before us is by what means we may guide the present movement so as to give it breadth and intelligence, checking sedition and poisonous falsehoods, while taking care not to hinder the march of education, nor to extinguish the freedom of the press.

Most people agree that Mr. Morley's proposals go in the right direction. We are morally bound to associate educated Indians more and more in the work of government, whenever we can do so without decreasing the efficiency of our administration. Much has already been done in this way, while for a series of years a certain progress has been made in local self-government. Government reports on the working of the Local Government Act show that the District Boards, which correspond roughly speaking to our County Councils, are a partial success in Bengal. These Boards deal with sanitation and medical aid, with communications, and with primary education. In Bengal they are not a mere name, but really act as an advisory body to the District Officer, who is always Chairman of the Board. In other parts of India the members of the District Boards do not adopt an independent attitude to the same extent. But even so, the mere presence on the Board of the leading Indians of the locality must strengthen the magistrate in his dealings with the people.

It is quite possible that a Commissioner's Council, formed something on the same lines as the District Boards, might be a useful innovation. It is often difficult for a Commissioner to get at the public opinion of his division, and a Council of which he should be chairman, and which would be associated with him as an advisory body, might strengthen his hands enormously. It might be partly nominated and

partly elected, or wholly nominated according to the circumstances of the locality. The leading Indians of the division who were members of the Council would acquire a sense of responsibility, and their criticism of Government would therefore become sobered. The time for paternal government, when the Indian civilian was regarded as the father of his people, is rapidly coming to an end, and in Bengal this kind of government has long ceased to exist. We cannot bring it back even if we would.

But there is something that we can do, and that is to restore the prestige of the Civil Service in the opinion of educated Indians. In Bengal at least there is an idea prevalent among the educated class that, however worthy of respect individual civilians may be, as a body they have decreased in worth. Consequently the simplest actions of Government servants are liable to misconstruction. Hence the violent attacks on civil servants in the native press, and the insidious suggestions against their personal honour. Hitherto the policy of Government has been to ignore the disloyal utterances of the press; but recent events have produced a slight change in this attitude. It is now realized that the policy of ignoring the press has created a class of literate people who hate the English and believe any tale of wrong and oppression. The young students who are so much to the fore are never brought in contact with Sahibs, know nothing of their methods, and are convinced that all they read in the native papers is absolutely true. Government occasionally prosecutes editors of papers for sedition, and there are rumours that some system of licensing newspapers may be instituted. But it is still usually thought unwise and undignified to notice personal attacks on civil servants in the press. In those rare cases in which an inquiry is held on account of a serious allegation in the native press against a civilian or police officer, the inquiry is held by the officer's immediate superior. The word of the officer in question is accepted, as the tradition of the service holds that its members cannot lie or even conceal

mistakes in their work. But, however satisfactory the explanation may be to Government, the public knows nothing, for everything has taken place in private. Nor, if the explanation were published, could the public be expected to rest content with the officer's own version of the story. Something more is required if we are to combat the unworthy attacks on hard-worked and honourable men who are doing their best under most adverse conditions. In Bengal at least we can no longer afford to remain on our pedestal. Hitherto we have rested content in the consciousness of good work well done, and in the absence of corrupt or unworthy motives in the service of which we are all so proud. But this attitude is not only unwise but even dangerous. The time has come when Government should inquire into every alleged case of injustice or oppression recorded in the press against a Government servant.

Possibly the best course would be this: On an allegation against an officer appearing in a newspaper, Government might issue a warrant to a Judge of the High Court, and to either an Indian member of the Provincial Council or some other non-official Indian of high standing. These two men would then hold a thorough inquiry into the case, and send their report to Government. Government would then issue a final order, and this final order, together with an abstract of the report, should be published in the *Government Gazette*. If the inquiry showed that the newspaper allegation was correct, Government might thank the paper in question for its information; if incorrect, misstated, or in any way misleading, the paper might be given the choice between a public apology to the injured officer and a public acceptance of the Government verdict, or a suit for libel. Our law of libel is probably sufficient to meet many of the poisonous outputs of the native newspapers without going out of our way to restrict the freedom of the press. Besides doing what we can to restore the prestige of the civil servant, we should also do what we



can to increase his personal influence with the people by means of friendly intercourse in the ordinary discharge of his duties. The enormous districts of Bengal, together with the increase of work due to the progress of both provinces, render it difficult for a district officer to come in personal touch with his people. Outside his own office he has practically no opportunities for intercourse with them. When he is not in office he is doing inspections. The want of a subdivisional officer at the head-quarter's subdivision involves a serious and increasing drain on the District Officer's time, and, as all can vouch who know the life of a Bengal civilian, his leisure moments are scarce. The people in the Bengal provinces do not come to see their District officer, and have as little to do with him as possible. This is because he has lost touch with them, not only through pressure of work, but also in consequence of the Permanent Settlement. In other parts of India the necessity for the periodical revision of the land revenue brings the civilian into close touch with the people, but in Bengal the civilian is cut off from this opportunity. It is easy enough to talk of the necessity for sympathy in our administration, but the Bengal civilian is apt to ask himself how he can be sympathetic with a people who shut themselves in a shell of reserve, and never come near him either to ask for favours or advice. Still, something might be done even in Bengal. Officials of long standing might with advantage talk more than they do with their juniors of the necessity of trying to understand the people they rule. With Bengalis a friendly word goes a long way, and if the officer has to seek out the babu first it will pay him. One would wish, too, that the work of the District Officer could be so rearranged as to give him more time to go about his district and get to know his people. There is much unimportant routine work which could be done by members of the provincial services, while a small measure of decentralization would strengthen the District Officer's hands, and free him from the necessity of referring so many

petty details to Government. If every District Officer in India had the leisure, as well as Government encouragement, to promote friendly intercourse between English and Indians, a step would be taken towards that mutual understanding without which our rule cannot hope to be successful in the future.

The Indian Civil Service has a well-earned reputation for able and honest work. There has probably never existed an administration so pure as the British administration of India, and it is greatly to our credit that we have succeeded in handing on this tradition of purity to the Indian members of the provincial services. But this should not blind us to the fact that there is much for Government to do. Lord Curzon carried out some most important reforms, but nothing has yet been done to check the corruption on the part of native clerks and other Government officers of the lower ranks. And although Lord Curzon took up the education question and brought it for the first time into the forefront of Indian politics, we still lack a system of education which should fit youths to take their part in the business world instead of merely training them to be Government clerks. Technical and industrial education is only beginning in India. Government has shown some apathy in this direction, and many Indians are inclined to believe that the Government of India has received strict orders from the Home Government to take no steps which might promote Indian industrial development at the expense of British imports into India. The seeming indifference of Government towards industrial education is an avowed and, on the whole, a legitimate grievance of educated Indians. They are beginning to realize that an education system which produces numbers of semi-educated youths fit only for clerky employment, and often unable to get it, hardly tends to produce a virile type of manhood. And from our point of view, the creation of a prosperous and contented business class instead of an idle and discontented class of unem-

ployed clerks and lawyers would be a solution of many of our difficulties.

But the fundamental problem of our rule in India—how to establish a more sympathetic relation between ourselves and the Indians—can only thoroughly be solved by means of social intercourse, and the difficulty of this is great. The fact that so little can be done in this direction is chiefly due to the position of Indian women, for only where men and women are socially equal can true society exist. It might be possible to establish men's clubs consisting of both British and Indians, where the non-official as well as the official European could mix with Indian gentlemen on a friendly footing.\* But it would be impossible for some time to come to establish ladies' clubs for the women of both races. Few strict Hindus or Mahommedans would like their wives to go to a public place of meeting, even though only women were present. It is difficult enough for an Englishwoman to induce these ladies to come to her private house. There are some Behari ladies who will not show themselves to any women outside their own establishment, and who even refuse to see new female servants until the latter have been in the house some weeks. Still, in spite of these disconcerting facts, a good deal might be done by Englishwomen in India. Apart from the Christian and Brahmo-Somaj communities, there are an increasing number of Indians who are beginning to realize the evils of the zenana system, and who are not unwilling that their wives should be released from the more strict rules that have hitherto governed their lives. In every place of any importance in India a few of these may be found, while there are now an increasing number of Brahmo-Somaj ladies who go about like European women. If Englishwomen in India could be brought to realize that their duty to their country demands that they should be friendly to those Indian women who do not live in strict seclusion, something of the misunderstanding of Indians with

\* A club of this kind has recently been formed in Calcutta.

regard to our race might cease. In all countries a man's ideas are to some extent formed by his mother in childhood. If Englishwomen could convince their Indian sisters that we are their friends, Indian mothers might instil into their sons a friendly feeling for us, instead of, as is sometimes done, using the officer of the district as the traditional bogey man. It is a sad thing that, with a few exceptions, Englishwomen in India stand apart from their Indian sisters. A civilian's wife may arrange a purdah nashin party with many lamentations over the vacillatory tactics of her intended guests, but beyond this there is nothing in the way of social intercourse between English and Indian women.

The position of Indian youths in England is another important matter. Something is, of course, done by ex-Anglo-Indian officials to show kindness to these youths and introduce them into decent society. The Indian National Association, which owes so much to the enthusiasm of the late Miss Manning, has sprung into greater importance under the guidanceship of Miss Beck. The Indian Associates, and consequently the funds of the Association, have greatly increased, and "socials" are held once a month at the Caxton Hall, in addition to the soirées at the Imperial Institute. Indians come to these gatherings in great numbers, and Miss Beck appears to have a wonderful influence on the young students who come to her for advice and help. But apart from the Indian National Association, there is no organization in England with sufficient influence to combat that of certain Indian gentlemen. These Indians, who live in or near London, catch Indian youths on their arrival in England, and instil into their minds doctrines and ideas which on their return to India bear most dangerous fruit. But this danger is now realized, and no doubt something will be done to meet it in the near future; indeed, there are rumours that the India Office is now taking the matter up. It is to be hoped, however, that any organization

which is created will be managed tactfully and without too much official supervision, or it may do more harm than good.

Tact, indeed, is sorely needed in all our dealings with Indians; but tact is not an Englishman's strong point. There is a large class of Englishmen in India to whom it is an offence to travel in the same railway carriage with Indian gentlemen, and who do not scruple to show their distaste openly should they be forced to do so. It is such men who are every day perpetuating and increasing the bitterness of feeling, while sympathetic Englishmen find themselves readily enough liked by Indians. The gulf that yawns wide between English and Indians must always exist, for the Englishman lives in India only for his working life, and cannot but regard himself as an exile. But the gulf might be narrowed if only we could rid ourselves of that contemptuous feeling for the brown man which seems inherent in many Englishmen; if only we would realize the danger of wounding the susceptibilities of the Indians; if only all of us, men and women alike, would unite in the great work of establishing a more social relationship between the two races.



## THE TRADE AND RESOURCES OF TIBET.\*

BY C. E. D. BLACK.

RECENT events have brought Indo-Tibetan affairs so much to the front that I feel no excuse is needed for an effort to arrive at some correct appreciation of what the relations between the two countries are in future to be. It may be taken for granted that intercourse between India and Tibet is inevitable. Not only has Great Britain treaties and rights to trade with Tibet, but the two frontiers march with one another for no fewer than 1,500 miles, and, as it is put in one of the Tibetan Blue books, it is certain that a civilized country, where it is co-terminous with a comparatively uncivilized one, should exercise a certain amount of local predominance over the latter.

It is, I fear, necessary at this point to note very briefly the general configuration of the country, because this and the physical features enter so intimately into questions connected with the resources, products, trade, population, etc., that unless one bears these geographical characteristics steadfastly in mind, it is difficult to appreciate the main aspects of the subject-matter of this paper.

Speaking roughly, the length of the country from east to west is about 1,300 miles, and its breadth about 700 miles. Tibet is wholly surrounded by Chinese or British territory, and at no point does it come into contact with the confines of any other State. This is a point worth remembering, as a few years ago there was the greatest uncertainty in some newspaper offices as to who were Tibet's nearest neighbours, and several leading articles put forward elaborate arguments and suggestions, based on the assumption that in the extreme north or north-west Afghanistan and Russian territory actually touched that of Tibet, from whose jurisdiction both are in reality very far distant.

\* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this Review.

In order to understand the geography of the country, it is necessary to note that the southern part, which constitutes the political and revenue-paying tracts of Tibet, lies wholly within two of the river-basins of India. Hydrographically considered, Great Tibet, as it is generally termed, belongs to the Indian systems. The extreme northern slopes of the great plateau drain into the basin of Lake Lop. Between this escarpment and the great Kuen Lun mountain range there lies a very remarkable depression called Tsaidam, which, although far inferior in height to the bleak and mountainous deserts lying south of it, averages about 8,000 feet above sea-level, and yet has no outlet into the Lop basin. South of the Kuen Lun and its eastern continuation lies the true Tibetan plateau, the most sterile, forbidding, and impassable region outside the Polar circles. Here lie the sources and upper streams of China's enormous rivers, the Hoang Ho and the Yangtze Kiang. The average height of this plateau is about 14,000 feet, and here and there it is seamed by latitudinal ranges whose peaks attain altitudes of over 20,000 feet. The southernmost of these mountain-ranges is called Tangla, and when travellers from the north have once crossed this watershed they find themselves within the scope of the Indian monsoon. The southern slopes of the Tangla Range form the northern watershed of the Brahmaputra River, so that here, in spite of the great height of the Himalayan peaks to the south which intervene between the two countries, we enter upon an integral part of a great Indian river-basin. Eastward the hydrography is not so well defined, but, so far as we know, the drainage is into the upper course of the Salwen, which is also an Indian river.

The principal routes by which this remarkable country can be reached radiate towards the capital from the four points of the compass. But it is worth noting that the longest and most difficult route into Tibet is that which connects with the Russian possessions beyond Chinese Turkistan and Northern China itself, and the shortest and

easiest route is that which leads from Bengal through Sikkim or Bhútan to Lhasa. The capital of Tibet is less than 400 miles (as the crow flies) from the capital of India, while it is over 1,000 miles from the nearest point of Russian Turkistan, and the intervening regions are of the most extraordinarily difficult and trying character that can well be imagined. Several travellers who have tried to cover this region, relying on their own resources, have been at the point of starvation, the very last and most successful of all, Count de Lesdain, who had travelled with his newly-wedded bride all the way from Peking, had actually consumed all his provisions, and was as nearly perishing as anyone could be, with his followers and his mules, just before descending from the Tangla watershed into the less rigorous region to the south. It seems to me important to bear in mind the remarkable difficulty of this route, the Northern Chinese route, because it can never possess much commercial importance except in the case of large and well-supplied caravans, such as have been in the habit of plying backwards and forwards for centuries past at certain times of the year.

The next important route or batch of routes runs east and west from China to Lhasa. Passing through the rich province of Sz-chuen, it reaches the important mart of Tachienlu, centre of the tea-trade, which supplies Tibet with a product in universal demand throughout the country, and by all classes of its community.

From the west there comes another trade-route from Leh, which is traversed at rare intervals by caravans, described with interesting detail by Sarat Chandra Das.

Lastly, remains to be noted the route from Darjiling and Kalimpong through Chumbi to Lhasa. It was the road followed by the recent expedition, and has been described so often by the officers and correspondents who took part in the operations that I need not say much about it, beyond pointing out that its chief feature is the extraordinary rise in level from the valley of the Tista up to the crest of the

Jelep-la Pass, 14,000 feet in height, a Titanic staircase as somebody has called it.

These, then, are the four main trade-routes : north, the most difficult and longest ; east, the next in point of difficulty and length ; west, in some respects the easiest, though its length and the great absolute height at which it runs for most of the distance rather detract from its practical importance ; and south, the easiest on the whole and by far the shortest.

But in addition to these there are several alternative routes, particularly on the west, such as Lord Dalhousie's great Hindustan and Tibet road\* which leads to Shipki and Gartok, and which is the natural line of approach to the new western trade-mart. This one very urgently wants improvement and attention in the section nearest the frontier. There are also about twelve routes through Kumaon and adjacent parts, difficult, it is true, but inasmuch as some trade already manages to percolate along them, deserving of encouragement ; and several minor routes and passes through Nepaul and Bhútan, which, in face of the excellent understanding that subsists between us and the rulers of those States, it would not be very difficult to get converted into easier and better-frequented highways of commerce.

In other words, we have nothing to fear and everything to gain by a systematic throwing open to trade of *all* the passes and approaches along the whole line from Ladakh to Eastern Assam. In other parts of India vast sums are freely spent on railways and roads, to open up the country

\* The Hindustan and Tibet road was begun some fifty years ago by the Marquis of Dalhousie with the idea of providing a trade route into Western Tibet. It passes through Rampur, an important trade mart, but was never completed, probably on account of the difficulty of the latter part of the route. Beyond Urni the roadway was blasted through cliffs for a distance of four miles at an elevation of 10,000 feet above sea-level, and here the roadway is considered quite a wonder of the world. I understand that proposals have been made for the improvement of the unfinished part of the road, some twenty-five miles only in length. Shipki, the goal of the Hindustani-Tibet road, is on the direct route to Gartok, the new trade mart of Western Tibet, where we maintain a British Agent.

and promote intercourse. Here, where railways are an impossibility, I submit one ought not to grudge a reasonable expenditure on mountain-roads, to exploit a new market and secure the friendship of the people beyond our frontier.

For this course there is a very important precedent, and the efforts made by Warren Hastings to open up friendly commercial intercourse with Tibet form a convenient datum line to which I must briefly refer. Here I may perhaps be allowed to explain that, though I have travelled in Northern China, I have not yet been in Tibet, having never approached nearer to it than the distant city of Peking. Until the recent expedition to Lhasa no living European, I may mention, had visited that capital. But I was many years in the Geographical Department of the India Office, and during my service there I, with one or two others, had the pleasure of taking a modest part in the preparation of Sir Clement Markham's work on the travels of Bogle and Manning, which even now, after a lapse of over thirty years, is probably the standard work on Tibet. Ever since then I have studied, I think, all English works and official reports on the subject, and a good many foreign books as well, so my interest in the subject will be understood.

To go back to the year 1774. Before despatching George Bogle on his mission, Warren Hastings himself drew up an official minute, in which he stated a noteworthy fact, that a general treaty of amity and commerce between India and Tibet had ever been a favourite object with the Directors of the East India Company, and that they had repeatedly recommended the establishment of such intercourse. This is interesting, as showing how, even in those early days of British Empire, the importance of open and friendly communion with our neighbours was recognized. But this was not all. Hastings himself had been careful to read up the subject before committing his country and his masters to a definite and active policy. Consequently, in drafting



his detailed instructions for his envoy, he first directed him in general terms to take with him samples of articles suitable for export into Tibet, according to a list supplied by Hastings himself, marking as accurately as possible the charge of transporting them. He was to inquire what other commodities might be successfully employed, and to diligently inform himself of the manufactures, productions, and goods procurable in Tibet, especially those easy of transport, such as gold, silver, precious stones, musk, rhubarb, and munjit (a madder used as a dye and also for medicinal purposes). But much else remained to be said, and hence he found it more convenient to put all that he had read and knew about Tibet in the form of a short monograph (of about 1,300 or 1,400 words), rather than to confine himself to merely laying down heads of inquiry and research.

At the same time the Governor-General specified ten special matters as deserving Mr. Bogle's particular attention. These are so interesting that I cannot refrain from giving this short memorandum (entitled "Private Commissions to Mr. Bogle") in its entirety. It runs as follows:

FORT WILLIAM,

*May 16, 1774.*

1. To send one or more pair of the animals called *tús* which produce the shawl wool. If by a dooley, chairs, or any other contrivance, they can be secured from the fatigues and hazards of the way, the expense is to be no objection.
2. To send one or more pair of the cattle [*i.e.*, yaks] which bear what are called cow-tails.
3. To send me carefully packed some fresh ripe walnuts for seed or an entire plant, if it can be transported, and any other curious or valuable seeds or plants, the rhubarb and ginseng especially.
4. Any curiosities, whether natural productions, manufactures, paintings, or what else may be acceptable to persons of taste in England. Animals only that may be useful, unless any that may be remarkably curious.

5. In your inquiries concerning the people the form of their Government and the mode of collecting their revenue are points principally meriting your attention.

6. To keep a diary, inserting whatever passes before your observation which shall be characteristic of the people, the country, the climate, or the road, their manners, customs, building, cookery, etc., or interesting to the trade of this country, carrying with you a pencil and a pocket-book for the purpose of minuting short notes of every fact or remark as it occurs, and putting them in order at your leisure while they are fresh in your memory.

7. To inquire what countries lie between Lhasa and Siberia, and what communication there is between them. The same with regard to China and Kashmir.

8. To ascertain the value of their trade with Bengal by their gold and silver coins, and to send me samples of both.

9. Every nation excels others in some particular art or science. To find out this excellence of the Tibetans.

WARREN HASTINGS.

10. To inform yourself of the course and navigation of the Brahmaputra, and of the state of the countries through which it runs.—W. H.

It will be observed what a prominent part geographical and statistical inquiry was to play in these researches. It has been said somewhere that all great men are geographers by instinct, and if so, Warren Hastings was no exception. The last item in his list is a geographical problem which, unfortunately, still awaits solution, for although 134 years have elapsed since this memorandum was penned, for at least a century nothing was done in that direction. Within the last thirty years some exploration has taken place, but no systematic examination of the course of the Brahmaputra has been made, and especially the brief section of the river which marks its passage through the main chain of the Himalayas, and its descent from the plateau of Tibet to the valley of Assam is even now unexplored. Bearing in mind

what I said above as to this stream and its affluents forming part of an Indian river basin, it is clear that there are many questions pertaining to irrigation and public works, as well as to inundations, rainfall, agriculture, etc., which depend for their solution on an exact knowledge of the great rivers of the country. And the Brahmaputra is the third largest river of India. It is permissible, therefore, to express a hope that the realization of Warren Hastings' No. 10 item may not long be deferred.

It is not within the scope of this paper to dwell in detail on subsequent history. It may be pointed out, however, that the unfortunate policy which we adopted at the end of the eighteenth century in the war between Tibet and Nepal led to the passes along the whole line of the Himalayas being closed against us for a long term of years. For practical purposes the subsequent record of intercourse between India and Tibet up to within a few years ago is a blank. But now that a Treaty has been happily concluded between the two countries, there is an excellent opportunity for following out the hopes and plans of Warren Hastings, and for that purpose it is necessary to take stock of such detached information as exists regarding the prospect of trade.

A few preliminary remarks seem required regarding the people themselves. Captain O'Connor, the highest authority on the subject, says that the social condition of Tibet has a great resemblance to that of Europe in the Middle Ages, when feudalism and monasticism were so powerful. Practically all the high offices of State in Tibet are monopolized by men of two classes: either by a most jealous and narrow clique of hereditary nobles, or by dignitaries of the Yellow Cap or Reformed School of the Buddhist Church—i.e., either by the great landowners or by the priests.

The peasants on the estates are practically serfs. They are bound to hand over the greater part of the agricultural produce to their landlord, and are compelled to furnish

free transport and supplies to all official or quasi-official travellers—Chinese or Tibetan. Nevertheless, they are not ground down, and are not depressed or degraded. Captain O'Connor remarks that the common people are cheerful and rather happy-go-lucky in their ways; absurdly like the Irish in many things, and sometimes even in features. Discipline is entirely remote from their conception of life, and, if employed on any labour, they will only work as long as some European eye is upon them. The regular artificers—carpenters, painters, masons, smiths—are of a better and more intelligent class, and in their way are excellent and conscientious workmen.

But the great majority of the population present the peculiar spectacle of a simple agricultural people, oppressed by a most monstrous growth of monasticism and priestcraft. It is estimated that one-fifth of the male population are monks, and dwell in monasteries, which vary in size from mere hermitages on the slopes of the valleys, affording shelter to half a dozen inmates belonging to the ruling class, up to huge collegiate institutions of from 3,000 to 10,000 inmates, like the monasteries near Lhasa, and at Gyantse, Shigatse, and elsewhere. The great lands apportioned by the State to each monastery, and occupied and farmed by ordinary peasants, who are in effect the serfs of the monks, are managed, as a rule, by lay stewards. After each harvest exact records are kept of the produce, every measure of grain and every bundle of straw, and these are warehoused under lock and seal, only a meagre sufficiency for subsistence being retained by the peasants themselves. But, notwithstanding this, the agriculturist has an easy time and little anxiety as compared with his brother in the United Kingdom, the average Tibetan farmer's condition of life being, in Captain O'Connor's opinion, beyond comparison better than that of the average Irish peasant; their houses larger, cleaner, and better built; their household and agricultural implements superior and more plentiful. In every village not only the headman, but one

or two members of nearly every family are tolerably well educated, and can read and write the Tibetan running hand fluently enough.

It is very necessary to bear in mind these points regarding the condition of the people. I may say, not only do they emanate from the best authority, but they are corroborated in most respects by the observations of M. Grenard and Mr. Rockhill, who were specially conversant with the north and east; otherwise, one might make the mistake of imagining that one was considering the case of a people like the Afghans, whose race, religion, temperament, customs and social organization are really entirely different from those of the Tibetans.

We may now turn to the trade statistics. The total value of the Indo-Tibetan trade for the year 1906-7 was £263,237, according to the official tables, but as this represents only the value of the trade passing through the British districts actually contiguous with Tibet, and takes no notice of what passes through the Native States of Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Towang, all of which trade largely with British territory on the one side and Tibet on the other, the real total value of the trade between India and Tibet can hardly fall far short of half a million sterling.

The chief imports from Tibet into India are raw wool, borax, treasure (which, I take it, probably means gold), live animals (which includes ponies, sheep, and goats), and musk.

The chief exports from India form a far longer and more miscellaneous list, including, first and foremost, piece goods and next grain. Then follow such items as apparel, woollen goods, dyeing materials, precious stones, pearls and coral, sugar, tobacco, and metals and manufactures of metals.

Over thirty-five years ago it was stated by the late Sir John Edgar that the great and inexhaustible staple of Tibet was its wool, which can be produced on its vast plains and mountain-slopes in any quantity and of the finest quality.



He also pointed out that if a good through road were opened via Sikkim, the Jelep-la Pass, and Chumbi, large quantities of cows and sheep, *ghi* and wool, the real wealth of Tibet, would find their way into India. Of course this road has been improved since then, although even now Captain O'Connor informs me that between the Jelep-la Pass and Chumbi a great deal remains to be done.

I am aware that this estimate of the available wool has been challenged by a witness, who was more acquainted with the condition of things in the vicinity of the route from Sikkim to Lhasa, but all the additional testimony that has since come under my notice has convinced me that Sir John Edgar was right.

It is a most remarkable fact that these bleak uplands support an extraordinary quantity of animal life. I am afraid of prolonging this paper by detailed quotations, but nothing in my reading of Tibetan travel has surprised me more than the repeated testimony of explorers as to the great abundance of animal life—goats, yaks, antelopes, etc.—in these interminable plains, which seem to provide little else than boundless pastures. An expert, writing in the *Indian Trade Journal*, and obviously acquainted with the country, says that its arid air renders the wool firm and soft, and hence very valuable.

The common breed of goat in Tibet is the shawl-wool goat, so-called from the fact that beneath the outer coarse hair there grows another thin coat of very fine hair, like down, called *pashm*. For a long time this *pashm* was the only kind of wool imported into Kashmir and the Punjab, and acquired a wide fame in the form of Kashmir shawls and Rampur chuddahs. But in some parts the special value of this important product—the felted silk under-wool, as Colonel Waddell calls it—appears to be unknown, and hundred of tons, he adds, are annually wasted; for in many parts the Tibetans do not collect it either from the yak when shedding its winter coat in spring or from the goats or sheep.

Part of the ordinary wool is made up in the country. At Lhasa and in the surrounding districts they turn out very thick, warm, and stout blankets, which are said to make capital travelling rugs. The nomads, in the long leisure hours of their pastoral life, weave a large quantity of wool, and convert it into very coarse stuffs, probably similar to those which their ancestors manufactured in the sixth century. The best goods of this sort appear to be made at Gyantse: Mr. Perceval Landon has shown me some very good rugs he bought there, and Colonel Waddell says the products of the rug and carpet industry in that town are of as fine a quality as any in the Orient. This seems to be borne out by the testimony of Mr. Grenard, who describes one particular Gyantse product as a "marvel of human industry"; a stuff thinner than cloth, but supple, strong, warm, smooth, and glossy, very different from the poor specimens often brought back by European travellers.

The transport work is chiefly done by sheep, goats, yaks, and *jhuppus*, which are a cross between a yak and a cow, and the convenience of this form of transport is that abundance of pasture is obtained *en route*. In a report furnished to the *Indian Trade Journal* as recently as February last it is stated that a real improvement of the roads would, it is believed, result in a doubling of the wool and *pashm* exports.

But the chief difficulty in the way of further trade between the two countries is certainly in respect of communications and transports. In the opinion of the same journal profitable trade is at present only possible in articles whose bulk and weight are small in relation to their value. The first consideration, the avoidance of the carriage of heavy impurities in wool and other products, seems totally ignored in Tibet. Wool loses about two-thirds of its gross weight in scouring, and much the same consideration applies to borax, saltpetre, and salt. The *Indian Trade Journal* suggests that merchants should exhort the local Tibetan officials to establish a regular cleaning industry on their

side of the frontier, so as to provide a remedy for the present expensive carriage of impure exports. Considering that the journal referred to is not an ordinary newspaper, but an official organ, conducted by Mr. Noel Paton, of the Commercial Intelligence Department of the Government of India, it seems to me that a special weight and authority attach to these recommendations.

Borax is found mixed with sand on the banks of several lakes and streams, chiefly in Western Tibet. It is stated on authority that there appears to be any amount of it to be had for the digging, the Lhasa authorities only taking a nominal tax for it. Sufficient borax for the needs of the potteries not only of Staffordshire but of all Europe would be forthcoming from Tibet if the supply from Tuscany should run short. Years ago Tibet was the principal source of supply of the European market, and exported 20,000 maunds annually, a far greater quantity than nowadays. Here again, though, it is declared that a decent road would lead to a great expansion of the trade.

Nearly every traveller who has journeyed in Tibet speaks more or less enthusiastically of the great mineral wealth of the country. Prejevalsky, whose repeated explorations of the northern part of the country constitute him about the highest authority in respect of that region, declared it would become a second California; and Mr. Rockhill, while visiting the eastern tracts of the country, remarked that his gold purchased at Peking at the cost of 20 taels an ounce fetched only 12 or 13 taels at Tachien-lu, so he was obliged to keep it, to avoid loss. He adds :

"Gold-washing is one of the commonest occupations throughout the country, as every stream seemed to contain in its sands particles of the precious metal." This is corroborated by a Chinese description of Litang, which says that all the streams and hills contain gold-dust. There are also gold-mines in the north and west, where the yearly out-turn is considerable.

In addition to the well-known masses of Thok jalung in Western Tibet, Colonel Waddell mentions another auriferous tract to the south-east of the Yamdok Lake, in the north of Bhutan, at the source of the Subansiri or Golden River of Assam, in the lower reaches of which are many colonies of gold-washers. A few days' journey due east of Lhasa there is a reef which, according to the Nepalese Resident at that city, yielded the best gold. Rich deposits are also known to exist at Lit'ang further east. Incidentally, too, the Colonel mentions large sulphur deposits in the forests of Kongbu, near the lower Tsanpu, which suggest possibilities for match-making and other industries. Mr. Grenard also speaks of copper mines, silver mines, and mines of precious stones, turquoises and lapis lazuli. I mention this, as he seems to have been a careful observer.

With regard to metal work, Colonel Iggulden, who was chief of the staff in the Lhasa expedition, tells me that several of the monks displayed evidence of highly artistic capabilities, and that the carving, fresco, and other work they turned out were of a high order. This I could quite understand from a good many remarkably handsome curios which Mr. Perceval Landon has shown me. Most of these goods are made at Lhasa, Gyantse being more noted for woven fabrics.

I need hardly dwell at length on the great opportunity that exists for introducing Indian tea (in the brick form) into Tibet. At present the wants of the Tibetans are supplied from Western China. The Chinese gardens east of Darchendo or Ta-chien-tu supply most of the tea consumed in Eastern Tibet, besides furnishing enormous quantities to Lhasa for local use and for despatch westward and southward, including Ladakh and Bhutan.

The brick tea, in which form the product is commonly consumed in Tibet, is made by boiling the leaves in water over a fierce fire and for a considerable period; this yields an intensely strong tea-juice or concentrated extract. Other leaves are then worked into a stiff pudding with the tea-

juice and forced into rectangular moulds from whence the blocks or bricks emerge in the usual shape. These bricks or cakes weigh about four and a half pounds each, and being in such unusual demand, fairly portable and uniform in size, they pass current as money at their market value. Enterprising tea-planters in the Duars have commenced the manufacture of tea bricks for the Tibetan market, as the brick is the only form of tea which the Tibetans will buy, and Captain O'Connor tells me the Indian bricks they have turned out are successful. He adds that the total consumption is estimated at thirty million pounds annually, from which we may see what an exceptional market lies at our doors.

Perhaps it may not be out of place here to note some of the information that has come to hand regarding the attitude of the people, because that is a point of importance in considering chances of trade and extended intercourse between the two countries.

As far back as July 25, 1903, Captain O'Connor wrote as follows :

"The Teling Kusho (a man of some position and rank, but with no official status) appears, like most unofficial Tibetans I have met, to entertain a cordial dislike for his own Government and its methods. He told Mr. White that he and most men in his position would be only too delighted to see the country opened up to trade, and there can be no doubt that this is the case. All enterprise and enlightenment in this country are stifled by the great monk faction, who are well aware that progress is fatal to their influence."

Later on, Colonel Younghusband remarked, in one of his despatches from Lhasa: "The officials display great indifference, and the common people are perfectly friendly"; and on a second occasion says: "The people themselves are perfectly ready to have dealings with us."

This information was corroborated in general terms by the Government of India in a letter to the Secretary of State, dated June 30, 1904, wherein they say: "We



believe that the Tibetan people have no dislike for us as a race, and there is nothing in the tolerant Buddhist creed which counsels hostility to strangers of a different faith or encourages fanaticism."

There is no doubt, however, that the monkish faction which previously to our expedition had been so irreconcilable, eventually showed a far more conciliatory demeanour. It is worth while noting Colonel Younghusband's experiences when he paid visits to Sera and Depung, two out of the three greatest and most powerful monasteries in Tibet. The Colonel telegraphed as follows :

"I made a ceremonial visit to-day to Sera and Depung monasteries, and was received at each by the chief abbots with every civility in the main temples. They expressed complete satisfaction at the settlement (*i.e.*, treaty), which they promised to assist their Government in observing, and the abbots of Sera said, in addition, that they would offer prayers for our welfare."

Again, in one of his final reports, dated October 28, 1904, the Colonel added : "I may safely say that no feeling of race hatred has been left behind, and that the Tibetans are better disposed towards us than they have ever been before."

Major Ryder, in his long expedition through Western Tibet for the purpose of opening up the trade mart at Gartok, found the natives quite amenable.

Speaking of Dong-tse, the late headquarters and supply depôt of the Tibetan army, whence attacks had been directed on the mission and its escort for two long months, he says :

"Here, like everywhere else, we were cordially received."

Further on he remarked :

"The success attending our journey was in the first place due to the friendly attitude of the Tibetans induced by the cordial relations which Sir Frank Younghusband had established with the Lhasa Government. We were

indeed glad to be enabled by only two or three months' hard work on our part to prove that the treaty signed at Lhasa was not merely a paper one, as might so easily have been the case, but that it inaugurated an era of truly friendly relations between ourselves and the Tibetans."

I may also quote Dr. Sven Hedin's words in his letter of July last, written near Lake Mansarowar, in Western Tibet :

"All over the country I have been met by all Tibetan officials as well as nomads with the greatest hospitality and kindness, and there is no doubt that the friendly relations they try to keep with Europeans are due in a very high degree to the excellent understanding and relations Sir Francis Younghusband established with the authorities when he was in Lhasa."

Last of all we may note that the Count and Countess de Lesdain travelled from Peking through North-Western China and Tibet, and arrived by way of Sikkim in India after experiencing uniform civility in Tibet.

I should like to have embodied in this paper some notes I had taken regarding the trade and products of Northern and Eastern Tibet, but I have refrained from doing this, partly for fear of making it too long and discursive, and partly because the practical object of the paper would be better served by confining its scope as far as possible to those regions with which India is in close contact.

P.S.—I am glad to append the accompanying letter from Captain O'Connor to me, because, though it may involve a repetition of some points, it is authoritative, and quite recent.

"The present trade route leads from Sikkhim, R.S., up the Teesta Valley, and so to Kalimpong, the mart for Tibetan goods. Thence via the Jelep Pass into the Chumbi Valley, and up the Chumbi Valley to Phari, and thence 100 miles to Gyantse. Of this road, Sikkhim to Jelep and Phari to Gyantse are in good condition. The

middle section, Jelep-la to Phari, is bad; the descent from the Jelep into Chumbi almost impassable—worse after our four years' occupation than when we entered the valley, Christmas, 1903. It is essential that we should have one good trade route into Tibet, and the proper construction and repair of this section is a crying necessity.

"*Wool* is the stock export from Tibet, and the supply might be largely increased. There is practically unlimited grazing in Tibet. Indian traders will make a big profit by buying wool at Gyantse, *cleaning* it there, and sending it to India—their own transport—thus eliminating the middle-man and the cost of carrying dirt and rubbish.

"*Tea*.—The Chinese are going to try and keep out our tea. I trust we shall resist this. There is a big market for brick tea in Tibet (estimated at thirty million pounds yearly), and our planters have learned how to work it. In view of the extraordinary generosity and complaisance of our attitude regarding opium, we should certainly claim right of sending tea to Tibet, even if it interferes with the China tea."

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.\*

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL WORKS.

THE "Dictionnaire de la Bible," published under the direction of the Abbé F. Vigouroux, has advanced by two Parts, xxx. and xxxi.,† from the word *Palestine* to the word *Pierre*. A good map of Palestine is added to the publication.

The twentieth volume (letters *To* to *Wa*) of the "Realencyklopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche" (third edition, by A. Hauck) has appeared. This great work, therefore,‡ that contains so many articles relating to Orientalism, will soon be completed.—Under the title of "Mosaïque Orientale,"§ Macler has compiled interesting articles on Semitic epigraphy and very curious documents relating to the Armenian printing establishment founded at Marseilles under the reign of Louis XIV.

It is late to speak about the Transactions of the Fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists (Algiers, 1905). In fact, the Fifteenth Congress is soon to take place at Copenhagen (August 14 to 20, 1908). The Transactions of Algiers, the first volume of which, though dated 1906, but distributed in 1907 with the second volume, are not yet complete; volumes three and four are

\* I have to apologize to the readers of this Review for the long delay that has taken place in the publication of these "Reports." It is due to my long sojourn in the United States during 1907, where I have been lecturing before a great many learned institutions. On my return voyage I had a very trying and dangerous passage, which affected my health, and I had for several months to curtail my literary activity.—E. M.

† Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1908.

‡ Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908.

§ Paris: P. Geuthner, 1907.

still expected. As to the volumes that have appeared, the first\* contains the papers relating to India, China, and the Far East, and Greece and the East. The second† is devoted to the Mussulman languages (Arabic, Persian, and Turkish); it contains important papers, which have been referred to in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (July, 1905: "The Congress of Orientalists at Algiers").

#### OLD TESTAMENT, THE HEBREW LANGUAGE, THE TALMUD, ASSYRIOLOGY, ETC.

The first two numbers of the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* ‡ appeared under the direction of K. Marti at the beginning of the year. This important Review, which will secure special interest under the direction of the eminent Marti, appears four times a year on the same months as the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. We congratulate the editor on this very useful publication.

We have to announce a new Jewish review, *Hakedem* (הקדם); it is a quarterly periodical for the study of the ancient Orient and Judaism. It is published by I. B. Markon and A. Sarsowsky.§ The two first numbers (March and June), that I have before me, contain articles in German, French, Russian, and especially in Hebrew; the articles treat of Assyriology, the Old Testament, the Talmud, and the Cabala, etc.

The Roman Catholic author, H. Vincent, has published an interesting work full of information, under the title of "Canaan after Recent Exploration."|| It is to be regretted, however, that the clerical character of the author has given the work a biased instead of a purely scientific turn.

Under the title of "Les étapes de la révélation en Israël,"¶ five lectures have been collected by Swiss professors

\* Paris: E. Leroux, 1906.

† *Ibid.*, 1907.

‡ Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1908.

§ St. Petersburg: Ofizerskaja, 50.

|| One volume in eight, with 310 figures and 11 plates without text. Paris: Gabalda (Lecoffre), 1907.

¶ St. Blaise: Foyer Solidariste, 1908.



of theology, and clergymen (H. Vuilleumier, R. Hollard, H. Trabaud, J. Barrelet, L. Gautier). These lectures, delivered at Lausanne, treat of the following subjects: The first centuries in Canaan till Eli; the prophets of the eight century; the epoch of Josias and of Jeremiah; the exile; Judaism after the exile. They form a thorough and searching study on the evolution of the religion of Israel.

K. Marti has published the fifth edition, revised and with additions, of his excellent "History of the Religion of Israel."\*

G. Hölscher is the author of a valuable monograph which appeared two years ago, and which we are glad to notice; the subject is Sadducism.† The original point of this work is that it shows that the Sadducees, during the Roman epoch, were the representatives in Israel of the Roman law, which they substituted, as far as possible, for the Mosaic legislation.

E. Stapfer has brought out recently the eighth edition of his work on "Palestine in the Time of Jesus Christ."‡ It is a good book for popularizing the subject. The edition is said to be "revised and corrected," and on the title-page of the work it is mentioned that it is written according to the New Testament, the historian Josephus, and the Talmud. How is it, then, that in his bibliography the author does not quote the two large and recent translations of the Talmud of Babylon, the one of Michael Rodkinson,§ and especially the one of Lazarus Goldschmidt (see further on) in course of publication? Several other omissions might be mentioned.

We have to notice a series of interesting works concerning the Old Testament: "A Critical Study of the Oldest

\* "Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion." Strassburg, 1907.

† "Der Sadduzäismus, eine Kritische Untersuchung zur späteren jüdischen Religionsgeschichte." Leipzig: J. E. Hinrichs.

‡ Paris: Fischbacher, 1908.

§ The new edition of the "Babylonian Talmud" (text and translation). Published by the New Talmud Publishing Company, Boston, 1895 and following years.

Prophets," by Ch. Bruston,\* a judicial work; a memoir, by E. Naville, "Egyptian Writings in Foundation Walls, and the Age of the Book of Deuteronomy,"† where the learned Egyptologist tries to establish the very contestable thesis that the Deuteronomy dates of the epoch of Solomon, and was deposited in the foundations of the Temple of Jerusalem; a work on the use of the vegetable world in the religion of the Old Testament, by F. Lundgreen;‡ important articles on the Carmel, by E. Graf von Müllinen;§ and on the excavations, in Palestine, by P. Thomsen,|| etc.

We have to mention a treatise by J. Bergmann on "The Jewish Apologetica" in the time of the New Testament;¶ and on "The Messianic Hope of the Samaritans," by Jacob son of Aaron, High Priest of the Samaritans, translated from the Arabic by Abdullah ben Kori.\*\*

There is further to be mentioned the publication of *Thesaurus totius hebraicitatis auctore Elieser ben Jehuda hierosolymitano*, a complete dictionary of ancient and modern Hebrew, by Eliezer ben Jehudah, of Jerusalem, an enormous work of twelve volumes in large octavo, the publication of which will not be terminated till 1914. Evidently the publishers take pleasure in making announcements long in advance. (See further on what we say of the "Encyclopædia of Islam," not to forget the "Dictionary of Religion" that Dr. Hastings prepares in Scotland.)

The excellent edition of the Talmud of Babylon (German

\* Paris: Fischbacher, 1907.

† "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology" (June, 1907). London.

‡ "Die Benutzung der Pflanzenwelt in der Alttest. Religion" (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft). Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1908.

§ "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins," Band xxxi., Heft 1, bis 3. Leipzig, 1908.

|| "Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins," No. 1, 1908.

¶ "Jüdische Apologetik im Neutestam. Zeitalter." Berlin: G. Reimer, 1908.

\*\* *Open Court* (May and September, 1907). Chicago.

text and translation), published by Lazarus Goldschmidt, has been enriched by the first and second part of vol. viii.\* "Treatise on Zebahim" (זבחים).

The second volume of the French translation of "Sepher ha-Zohar" has appeared.† It contains the end of the commentary on Genesis. We draw again the attention of all those who are interested in the doctrine of esoteric Judaism to this translation, the posthumous work of Jean de Pauly, published under the superintendence of E. Lafuma.

In the collection "Der alte Orient," F. Ulmer has published an interesting monograph on "Hammurabi: His Country and His Time."‡

#### THE ARABIC LANGUAGE, THE ISLAM, ETC.

The first part of the "Encyclopédie de l'Islam" has appeared. It is a geographical, ethnographical, and biographical dictionary of the Mussulman people, and is published, with the help of the principal Orientalists, by Th. Houtsma.§ This work, which has been expected long ago, is written in French (and in German, second edition). Its publication will be very slow (twelve years) but it supplies a really great want in Semitic Orientalism.

We have received, after great delay, which we cannot understand, the first volume of the "Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale" of the University of St. Joseph at Beyrout.|| This volume contains several interesting studies, especially the one on the reign of the Khalif Moawiya I., by H. Lammens, and another (in English) on Umayya ibn Abû-s-Salt, this interesting Arab poet, who seems to have exercised a real influence on Mahomed and the Koran, by E. Power.

M. van Berchem has published in the *Revue Africaine*,

\* Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1907.

† Paris: E. Leroux, 1907.

‡ "Hammurabi, sein Land und seine Zeit, mit 3. Abbildungen." Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907.

§ "Leyde," E. J. Brill. Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1908.

|| Beyrout: "Imprimerie Catholique," 1906.

No. 263,\* under the title of "Lettre de Suisse," a very complete, well-written exposition of Oriental studies in Switzerland. In the *Journal Asiatique* the same author has brought out a work,† full of documentary references, respecting some Merenide and Ziyenide coins on the standard of the khalifs in the Occident.

C. Brockelmann has commenced the publication of a very important work on the comparative grammar of Semitic languages; five parts of the first volume have appeared.‡ We shall review it when the whole work is published, but we can already say that the parts that have been published are of high interest.

C. Seybold has published the catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the library of the University of Tübingen.§ The well-written catalogue contains a detailed description of several manuscripts of great value, particularly of No. 1 ("Ante-Islamic History of the Arabs," by Ibn Saïd, who died 685 or 673 of the hegira), a unique specimen of Maghreb paleography and ornamentation, and a very important work for the history of Spain; it is an autograph MS.

A. Cour, professor at the Medressa of Tlemcen (Algeria), and whose remarkable work on the Sherifs of Morocco|| we have already noticed, has just published a catalogue of the Arabic MSS. of the Medressa (upper indigenous school) of Tlemcen.¶ Without being rich, this library possesses some inedited treatises on Mussulman law (Morocco), and several MSS. on the dogmatic history of the Mussulman brotherhoods, etc. The catalogue is put together with great care, and is very instructive.

The *Studia Sinaitica* (No. xii.) contains a very interesting collection of forty-one facsimiles of dated Arabic-Christian

\* Algiers: A. Jourdan, 1907.

† Paris: Mars-Avril, 1907.

‡ "Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen." Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1907.

§ Verzeichniss der Arab. Handschriften der Königl. Universitäts Bibliothek zu Tübingen. Tübingen: G. Schnürlein, 1907.

|| *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1905.

¶ Algiers: A. Jourdan, 1907.

MSS. (text and English translation by A. Smith Lewis and M. Dunlop Gibson, and an introduction on Arab calligraphy, by D. S. Margoliouth).\*

V. Chauvin continues with his well-known learning and conscientiousness his admirable bibliography of Arabic works. Part X.,† that has last appeared, is devoted to the Koran and the Tradition. The Koran is classified as follows: Introduction, Texts (MSS., editions, etc.), Translations (European and Oriental), Koranic science. The Tradition is divided into Introduction, Texts, and Translations. The work includes an interesting supplement, principally on the subject of the translation of the Koran, by Du Ryer.

Under the title of "Le monde musulman,"‡ A. de Chatelier has published a very instructive essay on the Mussulman Press, which in 1900 had not even 200 organs, and which in 1907 was represented by over 500 periodicals. The origin of the Mussulman Press dates from about 1825.

We draw attention to a new Arabic literary review that appeared in Algiers, *El Ihyâ*.§ This review, under the direction of Mlle. Desrayaux, with the co-operation of Mussulman writers, has taken as motto: "Progress and Fraternity."

Under the title of "The Mohammedan World of To-day," appear in the United States a collection of "Papers read at the First Missionary Conference on behalf of the Mohammedan World at Cairo, April, 1906."|| It is a symposium, say the editors, on the present conditions and outlook of Mohammedanism from the point of view and from the experience of Christian missionaries at the centres of Mohammedan influence. This work, very one-sided, as

\* Cambridge: University Press, 1907.

† Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1907.

‡ *Revue de Métallurgie*, April, 1907, Paris. See also *Revue du Monde Musulman*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1906-7.

§ Algiers, 1907.

|| New York, etc. Fleming H. Revell Company, 1906. Edited by J. Barton, S. Zwemer, and E. Wherry. Illustrated. Second edition, 1907.



one can easily comprehend, misunderstands the Islam ; but it is interesting as an expression of opinion on the Islam on the part of missionaries in Islamic countries. With regard to myself, I have always considered it a mistake of the Christian Churches to send missionaries to Mussulman countries ; the monotheistic religions do not encroach on each other. Their only duty is to respect each other ; their only perspective of the future and their common ideal is to aspire to form one day a theistic confederation. The work, which we criticise, contains much valuable information on the propagation of the Islam ; the authors reckon the total number of Mussulmans in the world to be 232,966,000. I think that this total is underrated, and falls short by several millions from the reality.

In the collection "Der alte Orient" (eighth year, Part IV.), O. Weber has published an excellent monograph on the travels in South Arabia to the time when Glaser appears.\* The travels are those during the period mentioned of Ludovico di Barthema of Bologna (1508, Aden-Rida-San'a, etc.) to S. Langer (1882, Hodeida-San'a). The most important travels are those of Seetzen (1810), von Wrede (1843), Arnaud (1843), and principally Halévy (1866), who collected 686 inscriptions.

H. Reckendorf brought out a popular work called "Mohammed and His People" (Mohammed und die Seinen),† interesting but very partial, and written with little sympathy with Islam and the Prophet of Arabia.

The second volume (there ought to be four) of the French translation of El-Bokhâri, "The Islamic Traditions" (in Arabic Es-Şaḥīḥ), by Houdas and Marçais‡ has appeared. Its contents, as well as the preface, edited by Houdas, are of great interest.

In this preface Houdas defines exactly the words *Ḥadīth*

\* "Forschungsreisen in Süd. Arabien bis zum Auftreten, E. Glasers." Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs, 1907. Three maps and four photographs.

† Leipzig : Quelle und Meyer, 1907 (Collection, "Wissenschaft und Bildung").

‡ Paris : E. Leroux, 1906.

(= the correct reproduction of the words, pronounced by the one who was eye-witness, or ear-witness, of what he reports), *Isnâd* (the uninterrupted succession of the witnesses), and *Sonna* (the whole of the *Hadîth*), the three essential terms of the special vocabulary in the collections of the Islamic Traditions. It is not that the Islamic *Tradition* possesses more importance than the Christian *Tradition*; in fact, for the Islam and for Christianity there are no documents of greater importance for the understanding of the sources (*origines*) than the Koran and the New Testament. The Islamic Tradition, however, is of as great an interest to study, owing to the extraordinary influence it has exercised on the Islam, just as the Christian Tradition has done in the Christian centres. In this respect the work of Houdas and Marçais is most valuable.

We notice in 1905 (April) a remarkable work of F. Picavet on the medieval philosophy. This work, in which the author studies the Arabic philosophy, has appeared in a second edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged.\* We have pleasure in noticing it, and in recommending it to our readers. In 1906 F. Picavet delivered a very interesting opening speech at the Faculté des Lettres of Paris on the instruction of general and comparative history of philosophy in the Middle Ages.†

M. Asin continues his studies on Arab philosophy. We draw attention to several of his learned essays: "Psychology according to Mohidin Abenarabi";‡ "Religious Indifference in Mohammedan Spain according to Abenhazam"§ (these two are in Spanish); "The Sense of the Word *Tehâfot* in El-Ghazâli and Averroes";|| and "Description of an

\* "Esquisse d'une histoire générale et comparée des philosophies médiévales," 2<sup>m</sup>e éd. Paris: F. Alcan, 1907.

† This speech has appeared in the *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement* (December 15, 1906).

‡ Paris: E. Leroux, 1906 (extrait des Actes du XIV. Congrès Int. des Orientalistes).

§ Madrid, 1907 (extrait de la *Revue: Cultura Española*).

|| Algiers: A. Jourdan, 1906 (extrait de la *Revue Africaine*).

Arab-Christian MS. (the poet 'Isa El-Hazar) of the Library of M. Codéra"\* (these last two are works in French).

The Tunisian Government sent me lately the draft-project of *The Tunisian Civil and Commercial Code*, adapted from the report of M. D. Santillana.† This work is one of the most remarkable in so far as it tries to harmonize the French law with the Mohammedan laws. The text is accompanied by notes and references to the learned and numerous Mohammedan authors, legislators, and jurists. This great work reflects the highest credit on the Commission of Codification of Tunisian Law, which is under the chairmanship of M. Roy, General Secretary of the Tunisian Government, and on the eminent Dr. Santillana.

#### MOROCCO.

We may appropriately notice here the last French *Yellow Book*, because of the important documents that it contains on the affairs in Morocco (1906-1907).‡ It is highly interesting to read these diplomatic documents; one finds in them the justification of French policy in Morocco.

The *Archives Marocaines*, publication of the Moroccan Scientific Mission, has been enriched by several volumes, of which Books VII. and VIII. are in our hands.§ Its contents are valuable. There are articles on Tetuan, Rabat, the Economic Geography of Morocco, etc. We find in it also Moroccan stories in the Tangier dialect, a note on the alchemy of Fez, a Moroccan account of the bombardment of Salee in 1852, a history of the life of Sultan Moulay-Hassan, etc. The *Archives* will constitute a real encyclopædia of Morocco.

\* Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1906 (extrait de la *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*).

† A thick volume of 860 pages. Tunis: J. Picard et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1899 (not for sale).

‡ Paris: "Imprimerie Nationale," 1907. This series (III.) is the continuation of "Affaires du Maroc," 1901-1905 (I.), and "Protocoles et Comptes rendus de la Conférence d'Algeciras" (II.).

§ Two volumes. Paris: E. Leroux, 1906.

The *Revue du Monde Musulman*,\* published by the Scientific Mission of Morocco, has begun its second year of existence. It is always edited with great care, full of documentary references, and, in consequence, of very great interest. The reviews which it publishes (Notes and Documents, the Mussulman Press, etc.) keep the reader well informed of what passes in the world of Islam.

Dr. Weisgerber, whom I knew in Morocco at Casablanca in 1900-1901, has published a study of the greatest interest on the Chaouia,† that region of which one talks so much since the French Expedition at Casablanca. The author, a Moroccan explorer, made himself known by a whole series of articles and publications on Morocco of the first order.

We draw the attention of the Africanists, and of all who interest themselves in African questions, and especially in Morocco, to the *Bulletin mensuel du Comité de l'Afrique française*, the organ of the Comité du Maroc.‡ This publication, which is in its eighteenth year of existence, is of the highest interest from the point of view of French colonization.

#### OBITUARY.

Mr. Jean Réville, Professor at the Collège de France, and at the École des Hautes Études, Director of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, died at Paris on May 6 in consequence of an operation that he had to undergo on April 23. The death of this eminent professor is a very great loss to learning. Mr. J. Réville made himself known by his works on Philon of Alexandria, Religion in Rome under the Emperors Severus, the Fourth Gospel, the Origins of the Episcopate, etc. He was much appreciated at home and in foreign parts for his learning, his spirited style, and for his extremely sympathetic character.

\* Paris : E. Leroux.

† Publication of the *Comité du Maroc*. Paris, 1907. With maps and illustrations.

‡ Au Siège du Comité, Paris, 21, Rue Cassette.

## THE PHILOSOPHER JUDGE IN INDIA.

BY A DISTRICT JUDGE.

It was only to be expected that when the Civil Service Commissioners altered the age for admission to the Indian Civil Service examination, and thereby attracted to its ranks men who had studied in the Oxford philosophical school, a new type of administrator would be found in that service who would bring new ideas to help in the task of government. A conspicuous instance of this can be seen in a recently-published work\* by one of such students, in which it is made clear how existing legal notions appeal to the philosophic mind of one who has also experience of judicial work. This combination has hitherto been a rare one. In England, and we believe in most countries, those who in after-life adorn the Bench or the Bar are usually men who have early devoted themselves exclusively to the law, and, with a few exceptions, such as Sir Frederick Pollock, have had neither time nor inclination to study philosophy. Formerly the case of those of the Indian Civil Service who adopted the judicial line was similar; caught up direct from school, their preliminary training and subsequent work never brought philosophy across their path, and the judicial members of the Service differed from the English type of lawyers more because their knowledge of law was tempered by their experience as administrators than from the results of the study of any particular branch of knowledge.

The present case is different. Here we have in conflict two types of intellect that are naturally opposed. The philosopher makes the world his study; nothing comes

\* "Psychology applied to Legal Evidence, and other Constructions of Law," by G. F. Arnold, Indian Civil Service; officiating Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Legislative Department; late acting Divisional Judge, Prome, Burma. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. Rs. 7/8.



amiss to him as a subject of investigation, but he regards each such subject as a part merely of a great whole which he strives to understand in its entirety. Each separate branch of knowledge, therefore, is viewed by him in its relation to other branches, and he corrects the conclusions of one by reference to what he learns from others. To him the law is merely one such branch; it is not more sacred than any other; it is to be utilized simply as one part of his experience, as one science by the aid of which he can understand life and deal with the problems which he is called on to solve; but it is not to be allowed to exclude other sciences, nor, as compared with them, has it a unique value for him. Hence he weighs its results and conclusions in the light of his other knowledge, and if they appear to be false, he rejects or modifies them.

The lawyer, on the contrary, studies one science only—the legal one. He does not compare its conclusions with those of any other, but intentionally excludes the others from his purview. He makes himself an expert in this one line, and, refusing to be influenced by considerations outside it, he resolutely holds that whatever conclusions are warranted by the science that he knows are correct.

If the position of these two types of men is thus understood, it is at once comprehended that their views as to the administration of justice must inevitably clash. A metaphysician and psychologist, like the author of the book we have quoted, is bound to regard the pure lawyer as narrow and one-sided, and to view his decisions of cases as inadequate and failures, and thus he declares that justice can never be done when it is based on so narrow and artificial a foundation.

To the lawyer, on the other hand, it is incomprehensible why his system should be attacked in this manner. He does not understand what his antagonist is driving at. The conclusions of the other sciences, which are the weapons of his opponent, do not appear to him to be applicable to the law courts, which is the only area he

knows, and he is convinced that if such considerations were once admitted by him as valid, everything would be uncertain, and no one could foretell what would happen. He therefore retorts by accusing his critic of ignorance of the law, and describes him as lacking in the spirit and traditions of the English law courts, which are to him the Palladium of justice.

To our mind there is truth in both views; the philosopher is right in that justice is not contained solely in the law and statute books, and many inequitable decisions and judgments which do not nearly dispose of the case are given owing to a slavish adherence to the letter of an Act or the precedents of a court. He is also right that the lawyers will never be able to perceive the defects of their own system so long as they are educated in their present narrow way, which confines them to this one study. But it also seems to us that when he has demolished the construction of his adversaries it will be found very difficult to replace it with a system that will be as wide as he wishes and yet practical and of application in the decision of lawsuits. The lawyer's instinct is sound when he endeavours to confine the area of discussion and the kinds of conclusions that may be employed, but as he goes to excess in this direction he often fails to give satisfaction by his decisions. So it is that the judges who have the highest reputations are those who do not fear to neglect the law when equity demands it, and whose view of the facts meets the approval of the world at large. It is undeniable, however, that tried by the legal standard they are apostates, and that their success is in spite of, and not due to, their legal training.

Now the position of these two classes is described in the introduction of the book to which we allude in very much the same forms as we have set out above, except that the demerits of the lawyer are naturally somewhat exaggerated, and the great interest of the book is that it shows in detail what the philosopher would regard as

legitimate subjects for consideration as aids to the administration of justice, and also the manner in which he would use the conclusions of other sciences than that of the law.

Although far the greatest stress is laid on psychology throughout, the author in his chapters on "The Normal Man," "Causation and Identity" makes free use of metaphysics, while he draws on the conclusions of biology, anthropology, and moral and political philosophy in the chapters on insanity, responsibility and punishment, and differences of race. It is not, of course, possible in the limits of the present article to adequately describe the contents of the volume, but some idea of the treatment can be given, and this can be illustrated by a few examples taken from the book.

The author's general view would appear to be that in order to judge of the correctness of witnesses' statements and to weigh evidence the judge should be aware of the conclusions of psychology as to the various mental phenomena. Thus the conditions favourable and unfavourable to memory are specified, the effect of interest and emotion on observation and recollection and the surrounding circumstances and causes that are required to awake recollection. The usual reasons to which illusions may be attributed are given, and when they are likely to occur. Instances are quoted in which wrong tests of memory were accepted by judges and employed in cross-examination, and honest failures to recollect are accounted for.

The general powers of the senses are also reviewed, and cases in which persons under special excitement or morbid and other conditions have displayed exceptional powers, and the causes and effects of hypnosis are described. From the existence of such unusual manifestations, the reader is warned against too hastily rejecting evidence which appears to speak to the exercise of powers which would ordinarily be regarded as impossible. It is

typical of the width of view of the philosopher, and his readiness to investigate all phenomena that come before him, that he should include in a survey of the subjects that concern evidence such matters as hypnotism and hyperæsthesia. It is hardly necessary to remark that you might search through most legal treatises on evidence with very little chance of even finding such subjects mentioned. The chapter on belief is extremely interesting because of the number of legal notions that it combats. The general view of the author is that judges and lawyers are far too sceptical, and that the interference of appellate courts with the decisions of lower ones is greater than warranted. This is based on an analysis of doubt which clearly shows the nature of doubt as an intellectual state, and that no doubt which is not based on some positive ground is reasonable. The attitude of the Appellate Court, which is often in effect merely one of dissatisfaction without ability to assign any positive grounds, is, therefore, condemned as insufficient reason for disturbing a decision, and it is pointed out by a psychological description of the manner in which the judge or jury who hear the evidence come to their conclusion that the reasons given in a judgment do not nearly exhaust the value of the decision. If this is correct, as it appears to us to be, the conclusion is that what has long been a maxim of the Indian high courts is wrong—viz., that in civil appeals the rule is that the decision should be confirmed unless you feel sure that it is wrong, while in criminal appeals it should not be confirmed unless you feel sure that it is right. The latter part of the rule in some cases is equivalent to acting on a doubt that has no positive base, and failing to consider the effect of "the summation of stimuli," to use our author's phrase, which leads to the decision, but which cannot appear in the reasons given in the judgment.

Illusions, hallucinations, and insanity are again subjects, except the latter, which are very briefly dismissed by the lawyers. The discussion on insanity is based on the

general psychological ground that emotion is the prevailing element in conduct in ordinary life, and that cognition plays a minor part in our mental life. Hence it is pointed out that, if perversion of the emotions is proved, derangement of the intellect must accompany, and the attempt to mark off a sphere of cognition, which must be separately proved to have been impaired or deranged, is to treat the subject from the wrong side. The author, in our opinion, successfully shows that uncontrollable impulses exist, and are, moreover, an adequate ground for holding a person to be irresponsible in the eyes of the law.

Whether all the conclusions of the chapter are accepted or not, it is certainly a remarkable application, both of psychology and metaphysics, to what has always been one of the most difficult subjects for the lawyers, and the results appear to be in complete agreement with the views of medical experts, although the grounds of argument are not taken from that science.

Emotion is a subject which is explained also in other contexts. The author has probably expressed in writing what has often been in the minds of many when he insists that crimes—especially murders—committed by a person in a state of violent emotion are generically different from those in which there is a specific exercise of the will, and ought to be punished separately. The ordinary man feels the difference, and classes the one as unpremeditated, and the other as premeditated, but goes no further, except that he condemns the one far more severely. In the treatise before us now the reasons of the ordinary man's destruction are unfolded, the psychological nature of the mind of the doer in each case is analyzed, and from the analysis it is shown that the legal maxim that everyone must be presumed to intrude what he knows to be the natural and probable results of his act is a very unsafe rule, and leads to conclusions which are often very unjust. The weak point of the lawyer's method, that it judges acts purely by results, regardless of the motive, is mercilessly exposed,



and it is demonstrated that by their maxims legal writers, in fact, identify knowledge and intention which psychology clearly shows are entirely different mental states.

Intention in estoppel and other cases is similarly treated. Throughout both the chapters on intention skill is shown in applying arguments from psychology, and considerable dialectical success is scored in the argument which brings home to the reader how artificial and unreal are the grounds on which the law really proceeds in such cases. It must be admitted, we think, that, in so far as the author aims at demonstrating this, he proves his points, and we agree with him that it follows from such a state of affairs that much injustice must often be done by the legal methods and presumptions. The disappointment, however, lies in the fact that no alternative method is really suggested which would be likely to be more successful.

On this point the writer's attitude is rather peculiar. He seems to be aware, to judge from several passages in the book, that the objection will be brought against him that he is purely destructive; but he admits this, and defends it by saying that it is necessary to destroy the present system, which works harm before there is any chance of a better one coming into existence. In the matter of intention he appears to rather suggest that more credit should be given to the delinquent's own account of his state of mind at the time of the act, and the evidence of bystanders as to the external symptoms he displays. It does not seem to us, however, that very satisfactory or definite conclusions could be reached by such methods, though it is certainly in accordance with the recent reform of English criminal law to allow the accused to speak for himself. The more metaphysical portions of the book, by which we refer in particular to the chapters on "The Normal Man," "Causation and Identity," are interesting as examples of the unexpected use to which metaphysics can be put. It is clear that a knowledge of such problems has enabled the writer to discern the reasons which have

led judges to place too narrow an interpretation on certain sections of the Indian Evidence Act, to apply wrong tests to the ascertainment of what does and does not constitute "the same transaction," and to put forward views of causation, as, *e.g.*, that of Sir James Stephen in relation to homicide, that are really valueless and sometimes mischievous. The attack on the doctrine of the normal man, principally as described in Sir Frederick Pollock's "Law of Torts," is amusing reading, and contains much truth; at the same time, it is probable that everyone has a general idea of what "the average man" is like, and what is an average standard of prudence, reason, etc. It is because the authors of the doctrine claim too much for it that others are tempted to go to the opposite extreme and deny the existence of such a standard; but real service has undoubtedly been done by the manner in which it is demonstrated that the average standard must vary with different races, and that the English judge who comes out from home and applies a standard taken from his own race to Burman and Indian villagers is likely to err widely in his conclusions, and do much injustice. This leads us to notice that in several passages in the book occasion is taken to tacitly compare the barrister and civilian judge to the disadvantage of the former, though the latter is not explicitly mentioned by name.

Without entering here into the controversy on this point, we may observe that hitherto the barristers have had it all their own way so far as the public expression of opinion has gone, civilians usually disdaining to argue the matter in the press, while the Bar throughout India makes it a practice to raise a press campaign and memorialize the authorities in order to assert their claims. It is not, therefore, altogether to be regretted that the present writer has taken the opportunity to call attention to some faults of the barrister-judge, in order that both sides of the question may be more widely known, though it adds at the same time to the controversial character of the book.

The two concluding chapters, dealing with responsibility and punishment and differences of race, are less strictly psychological in treatment, but are none the less interesting. The protest against the severity of the sentences now inflicted for certain offences and on offenders who have been previously punished will find many sympathizers. There is no doubt that a comparison with the sentences passed for similar crimes in England has often led the observer to marvel at the wide difference in punishments and ask himself why this should be. We confess that we are unable to say, and we believe that experience does not show that these severe sentences have been efficacious in putting a stop to crime, but rather the contrary. We agree with the author that the remedy lies in a reform in education rather than in increasing the severity of sentences, and should welcome further remarks on this point. The philosophical nature of the work is again illustrated here by the manner in which this tendency to severity is traced to a neglect to recognize the claims of the individual as against society, and a too great readiness to protect society at any cost.

The chapter on differences of race is very largely a picture of the Burmese race, and we note with satisfaction that the writer's sympathy with the people has led him to appreciate their virtues at the same time as he perceives their faults. It is probably true that nothing has contributed more to keep the Englishman apart from Eastern races than the fact that his own excessive regard for truth and condemnation of dishonesty in any shape leads him to overlook the other virtues of those who are lacking in this respect. Yet, as Mr. Lecky has shown, it is the pure accident that England is a commercial nation that has led to honesty and veracity being regarded among us as of such transcendent importance. From this circumstance the writer has cleverly drawn one argument to justify the assertion that the European witness is, man for man, far more reliable than a man of Eastern race. If

we are to sum up the value of the work we shall find it rather a hard task.

As the author himself says, it is not to be expected that it will be welcome to the legal profession; it cuts at the root of many of their accepted truths, and it allows them no credit for success in the past. It controverts most of what they have done, and the suggestions contained in it are not likely to be readily accepted by lawyers.

On the other hand, it exposes where some doctrines and principles of the law have been productive of injustice and error, and so renders a service which all but blind admirers of the legal profession will recognize. That it will raise controversy is not a misfortune if such controversy should lead to the desire to employ in the administration of justice principles more in accord with the present knowledge of the day. It is good neither for the lawyers nor the public that the legal profession should be a mutual admiration society, unaware of its own faults and ignorant of the wants of those who are compelled to resort to the law courts, and we think that there is some ground for the criticism to that effect which the book contains. Such an attitude is not one that inspires confidence, but is a very common one wherever a body of men join together in an association or guild for the promotion of particular interests. The tendency is always to render their trade as technical as possible in order to keep the outsider from interference, and when they have made it a sealed book by the adoption of technical language and the like, they are apt to sacrifice the spirit to the letter. It is refreshing to the outside man to turn from such to the work of one to whom the letter is nothing, and who can view the matter from the wider standpoint of the interests of society as a whole.

## JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

By C. M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

No. XII.—TRADITION, FOLK-LORE, AND FABLE OF  
OLD JAPAN.

It has been for centuries the custom in Japan for itinerant story-tellers to wander about from place to place relating the classic legends of their ancient land. It was also the rule for the children of the home to gather round the brazier on New Year's Eve, while the elder members of the family recited to the younger stirring tales of heroism, obedience, and filial affection. Messengers and *Karuma* runners suffered their limbs to be tattooed with historic and other legends, for the education and memory of the villagers and townspeople among whom they laboured. Pictorial representations of fact and fancy, worked out in living flowers, were to be viewed at street-corners, and in conspicuous places, during festivals and flower-shows. By these and other means interest in their traditional literature was sustained in the minds of the people.

For the education of the upper classes in the subjects of fable and folk-lore, a certain form of poetic representations came into vogue during the fifteenth century; these, called the *Nō*, a collection of lyric dramas, are rich in religious traditions, and were performed chiefly by the military class, and witnessed as serious teaching by the youthful aristocracy as soon as they were of an age to attend the performance of plays. The *Nō*, which number 235 pieces, are composed by various authors, who selected for their themes special legends connected with the Buddhist and Shinto ritual. Many beautiful legends have been translated. It is, however, impossible to do more in this short monograph than make a selection of those which appeal to us as purely Far Eastern in substance and character. Traditions, folk-lore,



fable, and romance, have become much interwoven, so that it is sometimes difficult to know how to accurately classify the ranges of information embodied in these forms of literature belonging to the Land of the Gods. The archaic period of thought and expression, mythology, and primitive religion, was not devoid of traditions. By way of Corea, Chinese literature had crept into Japan, and affected some of the earliest writings of the Japanese; but it must not be inferred by this remark that the Japanese themselves were devoid of originality; rather the contrary. Narrative literature possesses a charm for all classes and all minds, from that of the historian to the child of tender years. A child is always charmed with descriptive thrilling stories, treating either those objects by which it is surrounded, or by the conjuring up of invisible agents. In fact, it is the fearsome and uncanny creatures, or heroism under the most direful emergencies, that never fail to enthrall the youthful mind. A cruel giant, or a wicked demon, has a fascination that cannot be resisted, and the more terrible the deeds of these workers of wickedness, the more eagerly they are listened to. Children will follow a story to the bitter end, although it may be fraught with the very theme they fear; but what they fear they often fancy, and love to dwell upon what is most distressful.

The legend of the creation of the world as a place of man's abode is described in the *Nihongi*, or earliest record of the country of Japan. This was written in A.D. 617.

This legend of the Creation is well known; it is found in most books on Japan; it is the first to arrest the attention of the enquirer seeking knowledge and early information of the annals of the country. In some points it resembles the earliest record of the Creation found in our Bible narrative. The separation of light from darkness, of land from water, earth from air; the evolution of many changes of life to perfected life, of labour undertaken by the first created man; the acceptance of companionship and love, endow this chronicle with lively interest. According to

tradition, we are told it is the belief among the Japanese that "of old the heavens and the earth were not separated. Land and water, solids and gases, light and darkness, were mixed together. All was turbid and liquid chaos."

Then changes occurred which caused these agents to separate, a portion rising, a portion falling, while between the two was preserved a stratum of cloud. From out of this cloud three beings emerged, and then hid themselves. Out of the semi-solid mass that fell and constituted earth came forth a budding plant, like a rush. Then pairs of beings sprang forth, and after many stages two perfect beings came into life.

These were respectively the first man and the first woman, traditionally known to us as *Izanagi* and *Izanami*. For a time they remained in the regions of upper air and light, while from the moving mass beneath them, the sun and the moon, at first attached, became separate agents of light, floating in ether. The diaphanous link that had bound them to the solid mass concentrated until a bridge was formed, and from that bridge the first man and the first woman contemplated the earth beneath.

Suddenly *Izanagi* took his jewelled spear and plunged it into the mass beneath the bridge, and, after turning the spear round and round gently, drew it up again. The drops of semi-solid material that clung to it trickled off, and hardened upon the surface of the water; this was the beginning of dry land. (It is said that, in turning round his spear, *Izanagi* set the earth revolving.)

By mutual agreement they resolved to descend to *terra firma*, which had assumed the appearance of an island. Thereupon *Izanagi*, who claimed to be the Earth-Maker, created by command a high mountain-peak, sufficiently high to touch one end of the heavenly bridge. To the woman he gave the name of the Goddess of the Clouds, and, accepting her sweet companionship, they decided on alighting to walk round the island. They were to start on their journeys reverse ways, *Izanagi* turning to the right

and *Izanami* turning to the left. The solitary walk round the base of the mountain produced in the heart of the Goddess of the Clouds the first feeling of loneliness, so that when she again met the Earth-Maker, she exclaimed in passionate undertones, "Oh, what a lovely youth!" But to this *Izanagi* did not respond; in a measure it angered him, because to speak first was man's prerogative, and for some unknown cause their mutual companionship did not prove as happy as it bade fair to do at its commencement. Then they recrossed the heavenly bridge, and, seeking the advice of the Spirits of Wisdom who held eternal audience, *Izanami* learnt how she had erred in speaking first. Thereupon they resolved to return to earth, and continue their journey a second time, each travelling as before in a contrary direction. This time, upon the approach of the Earth God, *Izanami* stood passive, with downcast eyes and modest mien, silent and sweetly submissive. Then the god remarked, "What a lovely woman! what a fair and beautiful maiden!" This was as the Heavenly Spirits had decreed. Then the Earth God and Goddess of the Clouds clasped hands, and from that time began life and love, and the history of the everlasting Great Japan.

These two first mortals worked hard. Other islands were formed after the same manner as the one they inhabited, until the Empire of Eight Great Islands was produced, each island being given some welcome name—the Island of the Dragon-Fly, of the White-Sun Youth, of Yamato, Tsukushi, and so forth. The several thousand smaller islands which make up the archipelago were formed by the consolidation of the foam of the sea-waves as it dashed in upon the coast-lines of islands already created. This work continued, foam spread and congealed, until neighbouring foreign countries became established.

In course of time *Izanami* became the mother of several gods, each taking their appointed share in the constitutional progress of the world—gods of fire, of metal, of clay, of

fresh water, and so forth. Stars and comets, sun and moon, all appeared in due time to complete the universe, and to fulfil their respective missions, preserving their appointments through all time for the comfort and happiness of the world. This legend originated in the year 660 B.C., when no possible communication of thought or prophecy could have reached Japan from the Near East.

Earth-tremblings are frequent in this Island Empire. We have only to look at the map to see how it has been torn and shivered by the convulsions of Nature, particularly along the western coast between Corea and China. There is a legend given in the *Nihongi* or *Kojiki*, which tells us "how long ago, when the gods came down to subdue the earth for the Mikados, it was never still." A long cat-fish, called a *Jishin-uwu*, was supposed to lie underneath the whole length of the island. When it became angry, it flapped about and upset the equilibrium of the land. Peaceful days of labour or pleasure could not be enjoyed, and men or their property were not safe on dry land.

So the gods appointed two mighty giants to subdue the enormous fish. One pierced the heart of the earth, and his weapon acted as a rivet to bind the earth and the monster together and quiet them down. In process of time the sword used for this purpose became a stone, which was called the *Kanami ishi*, or the rivet-stone. In time of great commotion the giants raised this stone and readjusted it.

The legend of the Sun Goddess has been related before in these monographs. From the heaven-illuminating spirit commenced the single dynasty of Japan, from which H.I.M. the Mikado, the beloved and ruling Emperor of to day, claims descent. *Uzumé*, the Goddess of Laughter and Mirth, is the being to whom the Japanese are traditionally indebted for restoring the illuminating goddess to good humour, and enticing her from the cave into which she had entered to hide herself, and for the time being plunging the island into darkness.

In Japanese mythology there are other gods mentioned who preside over the elements. We are well acquainted with the Wind Imp, who is generally depicted with a huge inflated bag upon his back. There is the Thunder Drummer, who holds a string of drums which he bangs together during a storm.

There is (Y) *Emma Ō*, the God of Death; the *Nio*, or the Two Avenging Demon Guardians of Temples. There is *Jizo*, the Playmate of the Souls of Departed Children. This god preserves the little ones from harm, and hides them within the sleeves and folds of his garments. He speaks encouragingly to them, while they pile up stones upon his lap which evil spirits strive to overthrow. This task of stone-work must be undertaken for a time by the passing spirits of the little ones, until they are permitted to rest and find perfect peace.

Then there are the seven Patrons of Happiness, who are blessed, consulted, and welcomed. Their effigies find a place on every "deity shelf" within the poorest homes. These patrons preside over all that is delightful to humanity—long life, riches, learning, industry, daily food, contentment, glory, fame. There is a patroness among them who presides over the sea. It is their duty to see that happy marriages are arranged suitable in every way to either party. Once a year they meet for the express purpose of deciding upon fortunate unions. They bring hanks of red and white threads. These are the threads of fate, which they thoughtfully at first weave together; but, alas! sometimes these jovial patrons become careless, and do not pay sufficient attention to the business of the hour, and the skeins get somewhat entangled. These decide the less fortunate alliances, and, finally, as the day wears on the remnant of the silk is hopelessly confused, and this is symbolic of the unhappy and unsuccessful partnerships. To this day string made of either twisted red and white silk or cotton, or hanks of string made of red and white paper, are used in Japan, tied in the form of a mystic ideograph.



The Japanese believe in imaginary beings of all kinds. Their folk-lore abounds in the mighty deeds of fear-some creatures; especially useful, too, is the service that they offer to the good and brave. *Tengu* are often mentioned. These are creatures half human, half birds, with feathers and beaks. They are very alarming as well as useful, and often do much mischief, meeting wayfarers in lonely places, filling them with fear, and carrying out many tricks that work their ruin. The extremities of the *Tengu* are often exaggerated; they have long arms, long legs, and long noses, with which they fight.

They are particularly partial to brave soldiers. In the history of old Japan a celebrated young soldier, by name *Yoshitsuni*, is said to have learnt the art of fencing from some of these uncanny creatures, and through their teaching to have overcome a celebrated giant, *Benkei* by name, who was 8 feet high, and who possessed great strength.

Then there are the *Oni*, which are still more formidable than the *Tengu*; these have embryo horns and goggle eyes. They carry off beautiful princesses and maidens, and lock them up in fortified castles. They plunder state treasures, and are credited with doing a great deal of mischief.

In connection with these *Oni* I must relate the details of the story of *Monotaro*, the wonderful baby boy, who was found inside an enormous peach. This peach fell from a tree overhanging a stream, in which an old crone was washing clothes.

*Monotaro* grew up a model youth, brave and strong, loyal and devoted to his foster-parents. He, nevertheless, yearned for a more exciting life than that which he led at home, and hearing that on a certain island there was an ogre's castle, wherein a princess languished for liberty, and state treasures were stored, *Monotaro*, gaining the consent of his foster-parents, set out to conquer and subdue the wicked monster. By the aid of a monkey, a pheasant,

and a dog, an iron bar and other weapons, *Monotaro* accomplished his desires. He returned home laden with all that the heart of man can desire, with a beautiful princess for his wife, and for the rest of their days the old couple, as well as the hero, lived in luxury and comfort. He has since become through all time the favourite hero of the fighting youths of Japan.

The Japanese are very superstitious concerning the badger and the fox. These are both credited with the power of changing into the semblance of human beings at will, and by this transformation perplexing those who come in their way. This is chiefly undertaken when evil wishes have to be worked out by jealous people bent on revenge. Power of speech also is attributed to foxes. In A. B. Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan," the gratitude of a mother and father fox to one who rescued the life of their little cub from cruel boys, exemplifies the human sentiments that can exist within their nature, coupled with the deep love of their offspring. One of the most favoured legends is that of a teapot, which was used as a disguise by a badger. It is frequently seen in lacquer-work and carved ivories. Beyond this transforming power being granted to animals, the Japanese believe that stones and trees have souls, or, at least, that they often become the mediums for trans-migratory spirits to enter into. The Legend of the Enchanted Willow-Tree, which Lafcadio Hearn has given us in his "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan," corroborates this belief. A tree that had to be removed from the estate of a prince, was replanted by special request of a neighbouring *samurai* within his own grounds. The Tree Spirit took the form of a beautiful woman, and became the wife of the *samurai*. They dwelt together in loving union, and in course of time a child was born to them. A fatal day dawned when the tree was finally doomed to fall beneath the axe. When all exertions on the part of the foresters to remove the wood to where it was required were found of no avail, it was only the loving,

persuasive hand of the little child that could succeed in leading it up the steep hill, to decorate the new temple that was being erected to the honour of Kwannon, the Goddess of Mercy.

The Legend of the Pine Trees of Takasago's Island is a great favourite for the love it embodies, exemplifying the ties of mutual affection that can exist in one household—the life of self-sacrifice on the part of the daughter, and the parental love that gladdened, by its ceaseless remembrance, the daughter's life from youth to old age. This legend forms one of the *Nō* or lyrical dramas of the Japanese. It is said to have been written by Motokiyo about the middle of the fifteenth century. In the original it is considered a fine piece of work. It has been a great favourite with those authors and translators who wish to bring before the notice of their readers tales of sweetness and imagery, as well as those which are truly characteristic of this Eastern race. W. G. Aston, in his *Japanese Literature*, has given us a translation of this lyric drama, which is partly in prose and partly in song. The story will also be found in J. L. Bowes' "Japanese Pottery," in the chapter devoted to "Fables and Fairy-Tales." Frank Rinder, in his "Old-World Japan," has stepped back one generation, and has brought into the story the parents of the faithful lovers, the surroundings of their early days. He opens the legend with the childhood of the tender maiden, of the first awakening of love—that devoted love which has been held up through so many generations as a perfect example of deep affection in the marriage of faithful hearts, which cannot be better expressed than in Mr. Aston's language: "Though many a mile and river separate them, the way of a husband and wife, whose hearts respond to one another with mutual care, is not far apart."

No wedding-feast is considered complete without a representation of the double-headed pine-tree of Takasago, and for the benefit of those who have not yet come across this

beautiful legend, I will here run through the details of the romantic story. On Takasago's Island there lived with her aged parents a sweet maiden. Day by day her beauty expanded, like the buds of the cherry-bough when spring has come. The sunshine of youth was in her eyes, the subtle grace of the willow interpreted all her movements. Her voice was low and musical, clear as a bell, and sweet to hear as the note of the evening singing insects.

When her daily tasks were over, and every possible comfort arranged for her beloved parents, the maiden would glide away into the great cool garden that encompassed their dwelling, and would stitch her embroidery, or wind her skeins of softly-tinted silks, while she sat beneath the shadow of the great tall cryptomeria, the pride of their ancient home. She loved all living things as those of her trustful nature alone can love. The sea murmured its accompaniment to her song, and the sea-birds seemed to linger and listen as they wheeled over her head in the blue arch of heaven.

Love at last perfected the life and happiness of the solitary maiden. The adventurous youth from the Island of *Sumi-yoshi* desired to explore the Island of Takasago, and, finding within it so fair a prize, declared his love, and by the consent of the parents became their son-in-law, and remained to their latest days on earth, to join his services of devotion to that of his bride in ministering to the comforts of the aged couple.

In course of time the parents died, blessing their dutiful children. Their graves were never forgotten, but tended with the greatest care, and their names were remembered daily before the family shrine.

Long lived the happy pair beneath the shadow of the sacred tree, which was said to have been planted by the gods when they came that way. So abiding and beautiful was their love for each other that when, by reason of their appointed time having run its course, death overtook them, and their spirits passed away on the same day, and entered

the Pine Tree, out of the stem of the tree two heads grew forth, symbolizing that, although the wedded pair had been born on islands far distant from each other, in death, as in life, "they were not divided." On clear moonlight nights their spirits are to be seen, with rake and broom, sweeping up the fallen needles of the Pine Tree, solicitous to preserve in perfect order the surroundings of the sacred tree.

The literature of Japan abounds in legends such as these, full of sweetness and mystery. Some have for their setting moss-grown cemeteries, shadowy temples, lovely mountain-passes, or fearsome forests. Some find their origin in the quiet, simple homes of the poor, and many out of the story and surroundings of the peasant folks and the weary toilers. The legends are freely scattered all through the literature that has accumulated concerning the country, either compiled for us by the Japanese themselves, or by linguists who have taken the trouble to translate them from the original languages in which they have descended to us. From whatever source we derive the privileges of becoming acquainted with the tradition, folklore, or fable, we cannot but admit how clearly characteristic they all are of the people of the Sun-land, and the sweet simple life that once was theirs. Not that all these legends are suitable to read, or to become, as time goes on, inaugurated within our own collection. We will not dwell upon those that treat of fire or sword, revenge or passion, deeds of bloodshed and murder. In Eastern countries life was not counted so dear in past centuries as it is to-day.

But fidelity of servants to their masters, of children to their parents, of wives to the wishes of their husbands, of soldiers to their liege lords, was carried out to an excess such as we are not often called on to exhibit. Still, these legends and traditions all have their mission to fulfil and their obvious moral, and surely show how strong and lasting must be the emotions of the Japanese heart—for, after all, these legends proclaim in an allegorical language what sentiments really exist among them. That terrible



custom of *seppuku*, or self-inflicted death, of which so few of us realize the significance, has even been applied and found illustrated in one of the most popular stories of Japan. I refer to the story of the forty-seven Ronins, or lawless men, who died by their own act, after they had revenged an insult offered to their beloved prince. This story is one of the most popular examples of heroism learnt by rote, and treasured up in the heart of nearly every Japanese who enters the ranks to fight for the honour of his country and his Emperor.

The traditional literature of Japan is treated differently by different translators. A. B. Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan" were the first known in this country. Some of them are quaintly illustrated, and are given by more recent authors in more expansive renderings. Lafcadio Hearn, who wandered into the heart of untrodden Japan, has left us many gems, scattered within the few books he wrote. Strange and weird are some of his legends, set down in poetical mystery within the pages of "The Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan," "Ghostly Japan," "Out of the East," and other writings. Perhaps the saddest and sweetest from his pen is "The Story of a Dancer," which occupies many pages in "Unfamiliar Japan." Next to Lafcadio Hearn we may place Frank Rinder's "Old-World Japan," a series of legends, retold by Frank Rinder and illustrated by T. H. Robinson. These cannot fail to appeal to all lovers of art and imagery, for the tales and the illustrations are twin sisters of beautiful thought, worked out with pen and brush. For concise and accurate rendering we must look to W. G. Aston; many of the interesting and valuable prose and poetic compositions conspicuous during the several periods of literature will be found in his *Japanese Literature*. J. L. Bowes and W. E. Griffis enter into the true spirit of story-telling. W. Anderson and B. A. Chamberlain also ornament their works with legendary lore.

Of the more modern writers, Mrs. Hugh Fraser and

Mrs. Yukio Ozaki have contributed to the store of Japanese romances. Professor K. Okakura scatters dainty legends like precious jewels sparingly within the pages of his soul-inspiring *Ideals of the East*. Mr. Markino has also contributed to our collection, and a chapter of legends and romances will be found in "Fans of Japan," by the writer of this monograph, in reference to the subject of that work.

Within traditions and fables are often embodied deep lessons of filial piety and other characteristics predominant in the hearts of the Japanese. The allegory of the "Star-Lovers" treats of absolute obedience of a child to her parents; the story of the "Beautiful White Rat" shows forth the advisability of choosing a partner in marriage from the same rank and station in life. The story of "The Ape and the Crab," and "Whiffs and Jingles," exemplify the clever cunning inherent in the Japanese race. The fearlessness of youth finds expression in the historic romance of *Beukei* and *Yoshitsuni*, *Rai-taro*, the son of the Thunder-God, and others; while for sweetness and poetry "The Moon Maiden" and "The Princess and the Mirror" find no equal. Revenge for love rejected, pursued to the bitter end, is vividly portrayed in the story of *Anchin* and *Kujo*.

Daring and adventure, the punishment of wrong-doing, the just retribution upon the rich and powerful in high places for unjust dealings, the reward of virtues, have all received attention, and suggested in succession a theme to the authors of these immortal tales. Each era from the archaic period to that of Meiji has given attention to legendary lore—legends that will last throughout all time, even if uncared for and set aside by the rising generation of Japan.

The antiquary, the ethnographer, historian, and missionary, will find within them useful hints towards the better understanding of the living race, from whose past history these legends spring.

The spots celebrated as the *mise en scène* which surrounded these delightful fables are to this day sought out and visited, and will ever remain and excite interest. True stories of bravery, daring, and adventure, which are constantly reaching us from the land of the gods, particularly in times of warfare and conflict, fill us with admiration of the people who can endure and work out their heroic deeds.

## MOROCCO : THE BOMBARDMENT OF CASABLANCA.\*

BY A MEMBER OF THE OVERSEAS LEAGUE.

IF our readers will compare the two following French accounts of the bombardment of Casablanca, they will find plenty of food for reflection. Of the official account little need be said, except that there is hardly any truth in it. It does credit to the inventive genius of the compilers, who have succeeded in making the world believe that the bombardment was necessary to preserve the lives of the European residents, whereas, as a matter of fact, from the moment the first French warship appeared, those lives were never in any danger whatever until the bombardment began.

The second account is that of an independent French journalist, who collected his information from French sources only, and to this must be attributed the inaccuracies contained in his account. But, on the whole, his is a fairly truthful statement—from the French point of view—of what really happened. A great deal of "history," equal in inaccuracy to the official account of the bombardment of Casablanca, has already been written about recent events in Morocco; still more has yet to be made and written, and one cannot help wondering what account will be handed down to posterity. After all, however, it is only those actually connected with contemporary events who are really affected by the truth, or falsity, of history as it is written. Matters which do not affect people in their persons, or pockets, only create a passing interest; but the two accounts of an event which came very near causing the untimely death of many of our fellow-countrymen, and of a large number of Europeans

\* We are indebted to a British resident of Morocco, who was present at the bombardment, for the above interesting notes.—ED.

of other nationalities, are so widely at variance that readers not personally affected will find them interesting, and gain an insight into the way the world can be led astray by official reports.

## WHY A MOORISH PORT WAS SHELLED.

### THE OFFICIAL VERSION.

In the *Journal Officiel* of April 17 there appeared the reports of Admiral Philibert; Commandant Ollivier, Chef de Bataillon Mangin; Ensigns Cosme and Ballande; Naval Lieutenant Bergasse du Petit Thouars; and Messrs. Regnault, French Minister, and De St. Aulaire, Chargé d'Affaires. These documents place us in a position to ascertain with accuracy the history of the disembarkation of the French at Casablanca.

### THE CAUSES.

On August 2 the Consul informs Commandant Ollivier, of the *Galilée*, that there is fear of an attack on the town the next day. Mouley el Amin, the Sultan's uncle, and commander of the *Mehalla* of Abd-el-Aziz, sent against the Chaouïa, has taken the administration and policing of the town in hand. The Consul refuses a guard, fearing that the disembarkation might produce complications. Commandant Ollivier takes the measures necessary for the bombardment of the town, should it be thought necessary.

On the 3rd rifles and ammunition are landed, and ten sailors under the orders of Ensign Cosme, in order to defend the group of houses formed by the French and Portuguese Consulates. This operation does not attract any attention. In the evening Commandant Ollivier receives the news that the French Consul at Rabat asks for the presence of a cruiser. Bad news comes in from Mazagan.

On August 4 a French house, situated at 3 kilometres



from the town, is sacked, and the European cemetery profaned. News from Rabat is bad. Mouley el Amin decides to give up the keys of the town.

"From this moment my decision is taken," writes Commandant Ollivier. "One had to take advantage of the good intentions of Mouley el Amin, which might change, to try to suppress by energetic measures the anti-French feeling that has arisen in the different coast towns, and put an end as soon as possible to the dangerous situation of the refugees on board the *Demetian*." (The French inhabitants of Casablanca had embarked on July 31 in the *Demetian*, an English steamer, and the doctors declared that, being so crowded, an epidemic disease might be the result.)

"I begged the Consul to inform Mouley el Amin at any time he thought suitable that we were going to land at 5 o'clock in the morning; that the gates had to be open; that the squadron was arriving with a large force, and that if the gates were not open at the hour fixed, or a single shot was fired at my men, I would bombard the Moorish part of the town, it being understood that we should keep Mouley el Amin as Moorish authority.

"After having exchanged signals with the Consulate, I got the answer of Mouley el Amin from the Consul. Mouley el Amin had sent a messenger to the Caid to tell him to take measures to have the gates open, to take care no shots were fired, and requested that the town should not be bombarded in case any loafers might fire on the troops.

"During the next day Ensign Cosme fortifies the Consulate, where the remainder of the French colony gathers. A certain excitement reigns in the town."

The following is Commandant Ollivier's account of what happened on August 5 :

#### AN AMBUSCADE.

"On August 5, at 5 o'clock, I saw from my ship the gates being opened. The reinforced landing-party, sixty-six men, under the command of Naval Ensign Ballande (ten

others commanded by Ensign Cosme were at the Consulate, with rations for three days and 120 cartridges each), arrived at the landing-place at 5.20 a.m., disembarked, assisted by the Moors, who ran out to meet them, formed up on the beach, their arms ready without being loaded, every man on landing fixing his bayonet. On board the guns were put in firing order, and prepared, ready to make their voices heard if, notwithstanding Mouley el Amin's promises, the detachment were attacked.

"The detachment was put in motion, rifles being carried on the right shoulder, headed by Ensign Ballande, the bugler at his side; behind them M. Berti, Controleur Civil, who had consented to act as interpreter, and M. Zaguri, the interpreter of the Consulate, sent by the Consul to receive the detachment and serve as guide. At the moment that the head of the column arrived at 4 to 5 metres' distance from the gates, these were shut. M. Ballande, hurrying on, advances alone, and makes a sign to the Moors to open them. A volley is the answer, whilst the Moors behind the gates try to bolt them.

"Seeing that, should the gates be closed, any hesitation may cause the annihilation of his detachment, M. Ballande makes a rush for the gates, which open to his pressure, and gives the command, 'Load your rifles! Forward! Charge with the bayonet!' Another volley is then fired by some Moors, who retire to the number of about fifty. A ball pierces M. Ballande's right hand, and his sword falls to the ground. Quartermaster Labaste, who is behind his chief, leads the sailors on, and the column moves again.

"A shower of bullets falls both inside and outside the town, from the top of the town wall, from the windows of the houses, and from all the corners of the street, whence come soldiers and armed men to bar the streets.

"This was the ambush prepared: hundreds of rifles were pointed at the sailors, and they had to clear the way by force to avoid being thrown into the sea, or shot from the top of the walls.

"But the impulse was given; electrified by the example of their heroic chief, who rushes on about 10 metres in front of them, his sword in the left hand, which still remains serviceable, throwing aside at his approach the ruffians, who did not even trust to their superior numbers, encouraging them by his voice, making them, in their short halts, fire well-directed volleys, the men of the detachment rush forward, leaving on the road some sixty dead enemies, without losing themselves a single man.

"This entrance, which, according to promise given, should have been a peaceful one, has been transformed into a bayonet charge by the treacherous ambushade: a triumphal march, the audacity of which has astonished our enemy, and called forth shouts of admiration from the French shut up in the Consulate, which is the object of the march.

#### BOMBARDMENT BECOMES NECESSARY.

"When the two volleys which we had heard left no doubt as to the attack of which my men had been the victims, I caused my guns to open fire on the Moorish quarter of the town at about 1,400 metres, at which distance the *Galilee* was anchored. I signalled to the *Du Chayla* to approach Casablanca as quickly as possible, to put on more steam, and have troops in readiness to disembark. The country people soon began to show coming towards the town; part of our shells were reserved for them.

"At 7.10 the Consulate signalled to me to stop firing; up to that moment the attack on the Consulate, where my seventy-eight men were locked up, had been very fierce; the balls fell in showers on the terraces, whence the sailors fired back.

"Mouley el Amin, coming to parley, asked that the *Galilee* should cease firing on the town, but should continue firing on the tribesmen, guaranteeing the security of the town. The following conditions were put to him: That he should write a letter of excuse in the name of the

Maghzen for the treachery committed, which he did ; that the Caid and the soldiers who had been guilty of the ambush should be given up. He promised everything on his head, and tried to re-establish order, but his soldiers abandoned him, and in the afternoon he had to declare that there was no Moorish authority left in Casablanca capable of maintaining order and the respect of property."

#### THE FUSILLADE IN THE STREETS.

Ensign Cosme, as soon as he heard the firing which took place after the landing of Ballande's detachment, had signalled : " Bombard the town." This is his account of what he saw :

" There is heavy firing in the town in the track of the landing detachment, whose volley-firing we hear. At last we see our men appear, running at the charge, Ballande at their head. The numerous soldiers of the Caid who were guarding the Consulate form up against the company which is arriving. I direct volley-firing upon them, and this clears the road ; at last the landing party enters the Consulate. Ballande, who is wounded, places the direction of the defence in my hands, after having given me orders, as his wound makes him lose a lot of blood. Numbers of bullets pass over the terrace, where I keep a section to answer the fire ; the rest of my men are in the garden for the defence of the doors.

" From the roof we kill a number of the Moors, who are firing upon us from the neighbouring streets, from the roofs of the houses, and from the town wall. The firing is incessant.

" A Spanish gunboat and the *Du Chayla* arrive before noon. Major Mangin takes the command of the corps of occupation. One company and ninety-five sailors from the *Du Chayla* are landed. At 6 p.m. the *Forbin* arrives. In the town all the Consulates that have not been evacuated are defended by French soldiers and sailors. The German Consulate having been evacuated, the Consul installed

himself with some of his fellow-countrymen in a house next to the French Consulate. They were also protected by the guards of our Consulate. Some firing during the day. About 11 p.m. a violent attack from the beach and between the mosque and Swedish Consulate. We have one man killed and three wounded, of whom one has died since.

## TWO EVENTFUL DAYS.

"On the 6th violent firing on the British Consulate during the whole day. Patrols endeavour to restore order. Ensign Cosme goes to fetch the firearms and ammunition which Mouley el Amin had spontaneously delivered (rifles and about 24,000 cartridges). All these operations took place without any loss of life, although our men were generally received with firing. The most important operation of the day was the destruction by the 65-millimetre gun, from the top of the French Consulate, of the minaret of the mosque situated in the centre of the town. This tower stood, in fact, in a dominant position, and in it were posted men who fired thence into the French Consulate. The French Consul and Si Allal Ben Abbas have stated that this destruction was rendered necessary by the situation.

"The night of the 6th was quiet, except in the neighbourhood of the Spanish and British Consulates. The Moors, instead of firing at our men, took advantage of the darkness to crawl up to the houses round the two 'islands' occupied by us, and entrench themselves in them. On the 7th well-sustained firing is directed against our positions, and especially the French Consulate. Naval-Lieutenant du Petit Thouars frees the Spanish and British Consulates, and as the squadron has arrived, troops begin to disembark. The occupation of the whole of the town then takes place. Our losses during the three days amounted to two dead and nineteen wounded."



## CONCLUSION.

We must add that on August 20, 1907, Admiral Philibert telegraphed : " It seems to me necessary to insist on the unanimity of all these reports, which establish the fact of the treacherous ambush into which our men fell on coming ashore, and that they had for a certain time borne the firing of the Moors without answering it ; and also that this ambush proves that, if on the 5th the *Galilée* had not landed her men, everything was prepared to attack and massacre the Europeans, who were without defence, before the arrival of the landing detachment, and even before the light vessels in the bay could protect them. The Caid was a traitor, and in connivance with the disaffected and revolted tribes ; the old uncle of the Sultan, Mouley el Amin, totally devoid of authority, as he himself declared, was so little certain of his men that, on taking part in the attack, they were the first to fire on our sailors. It may be confidently stated that the massacre of July 31 was part of a plot to give up the town of Casablanca to loot and massacre, and that the presence of the sailors on land saved the Europeans—and part of the European quarter—from that disaster, and this at a cost of two sailors killed and eighteen wounded."

## THE LANDING AT CASABLANCA.

## AN UNOFFICIAL VERSION.

From *Les Journées de Casablanca*, by GEORGES BOURDON (Pierre Lafitte and Co., Paris).

## THE CAUSES.

On August 2 ten sailors from the *Galilée* were landed under the command of Ensign Cosme to protect the French Consulate. The explanation given to the Caid as to the meaning of this landing was that these men were meant to do the signalling. The European colony became more and more reassured. M. Maigret, the Vice-Consul, goes on

board the *Demetian*, where the French colony is crowded together, and suffering from illness and want of water, to persuade them to come ashore again, but the result is that only four landed. This happens on Sunday, at 6 p.m., and only a few hours later the second act in the Casablanca tragedy is going to be played.

The evening of the 4th passed without any incident. At 11 o'clock, however, Commandant Olivier of the *Galilée* signals to the Consulate that at daybreak a whole squadron will appear before Casablanca, and will land imposing forces at 5 o'clock; that it is urgent to inform Muley el Amin that if a single shot is fired the town will be bombarded. "Imposing forces" is the word. What has happened on the *Galilée* between seven and eleven? What took away all prudent and wise resolutions? What happened is this. Amongst the officers the conversation about the visit of the Vice-Consul had excited some, and one of the officers had a violent altercation with the commander, and on the top of this came the message from the *Du Chayla*, of which we will speak later on. But the most important thing was a message sent by M. Maigret, to which nobody, not even he, attached much importance at the moment.

In the evening the French Consulate received a letter from Muley el Amin, saying that he was not opposed to the landing of French troops, offering the keys of the town, and affirming that no resistance would take place. The unfortunate thing was that this news was communicated to the *Galilée* a few hours after the landing had been so hotly discussed, and at the same moment that the message from the *Du Chayla* was hastening the resolution of the *Galilée*. Did not this communication show that the forces in Casablanca that were for order were stronger than the disorderly ones? M. Maigret so little thought that the resolution taken by him and the commander at 7 o'clock could be influenced by this message that he sent it on without any comments to the *Galilée*. The agreement

was that the *Galilée* would guarantee the safety of the French, and would take no repressive measures. In this supposition he was wrong. He might have known that, in the excited state the officers were in, every excuse or pretext that might arise would be exaggerated. As nothing prevented them from taking the letter of Muley el Amin as an invitation, they gave it that character; and as M. Maigret sent it on without any advice, they affected not to doubt the fact that it had removed his hesitation, and that he had given in to the inevitable. From that moment the landing seemed to them to be a pressing necessity. I was given the following opinion by a high official: "The landing of the 7th is a result of an auto-suggestion, which has been turned into a duty"; but it is true that the same person added, "But we could not disavow the *Galilée*."

M. Maigret sent a letter to Muley el Amin, in which he says this: "I inform you that a very strong naval force will arrive before Casablanca at 5 o'clock, and will land French troops. The water-port gates will have to be open to them. I, as well as Commandant Ollivier, warn you that it depends upon you that everything takes place in perfect order, and that no blood shall be shed. At the first shot fired at our soldiers our ships will bombard the town." As 5 o'clock sounded no ships were in sight, and sixty-six sailors were landed under the orders of Ensign Ballande, with the ship's doctor, Brunet, and two civil functionaries.

Sixty-six sailors land, and in order to understand the scene that is going to take place I must give you a description of the landing-place, etc.

#### THE AMBUSCADE.

When one lands at Casablanca, in a narrow creek between rocks, one gets on to a sloping platform that lies in front of a double-opening gate on the right. To enter the town one has to turn first to the left, go alongside

a wall on the right, then turn to the right again, and one finds one's self in front of the gate.

This will help the reader to understand why all the soldiers were not in the gateway at the moment that the Maghzen soldiers fired on them. Behind the gate there were more soldiers posted. Three were on the landing-place, and some others a little further on. When the soldiers had landed and were forming up, one of the three men at the landing-place said some words in Arabic to his companions, meaning that this landing seems queer to him, and that he does not like it. M. Zagury, the consular interpreter, who had come to act as a guide, repeats these words to M. Berti, and adds, "We had better keep our eyes open." The troop draws up and marches on, but the carbines were not ready for firing; they were loaded, so that a single movement would make them ready for use, and the bayonets were fixed. At the moment that the men arrived in front of the gate this was shut. Why? Was it an ambush? This is easily said. But organized by whom? By Muley el Amin? Do not let us forget that he had only been told of the landing at 4 o'clock, about an hour previously; that since Wednesday he had shown only the best intentions, and that during those five days he had more than one good opportunity to massacre the Europeans; and that last, but not least, he knew that in case of any trouble the town would be bombarded.

Why the gate had been shut and why the firing began will only be known by questioning those that remain of the soldiers posted at the water-port. I myself have seen a man called El Hayani arrested, whom trustworthy witnesses heard shouting to the Maghzen soldiers at the moment that their men approached, "Shut the door and fire at those Christian dogs!" If this is true, it is easy to form an idea of what effect it may have had on the uncultivated and easily impressionable Moorish soldiers.

Ensign Ballande saw the door closing. If the gate is shut altogether, it means that the small force will have to

go back to the *Galilée*; it means disaster. He pushes the door open, and makes it possible for his men to enter. At the same moment one shot is fired. I say one shot, as there is very good evidence about the fact. Ensign Ballande gives the order to his men, "Present your rifles," and then general firing is started at his men. He is wounded in the hand, his sword falls to the ground, he takes it up with his left hand, and rushes on. All this takes place in one moment, and is witnessed only by MM. Ballande, Zagury, Berti, and Trumpeter Ancan, who were in front of the gate when the firing began. The sailors answer the fire, and kill some of the men who have attacked them.

From the water-port to the Consulate is a distance of about 250 metres, with four sharply turning corners. The streets are very narrow, but they are not, as has been said, full of people hiding to attack; for on account of their narrowness, and being filled with piles of sacks of grain, behind every one of which a man might have been hidden, not a single one of our men would have reached the Consulate alive. To say this, one would have to be totally ignorant of the situation of the place.

The distance was about 250 metres, with four sharp turnings. In this space there were two posts of soldiers, put there for the safety of the town—one in front of Mr. Lamb's house, one near the prison. When these soldiers heard the shots they fired also, they are Moors before being soldiers. This should not be forgotten, and they hate us for religious reasons. One spark was sufficient to make the fire flare up, and here was the spark.

This is the reason why all along the 250-metre guns were fired at our soldiers, but were more noisy than dangerous. We fire back, and kill a lot of soldiers and natives; the survivors fly. Quartermaster Labaste is wounded in the chest. The moment is tragic and sanguinary.

In this way they get to the Consulate, where they find



thirty-five Moorish soldiers, posted there five days ago by Muley el Amin. At the last turning M. Zagury, who fears another disaster, rushes in, and calls out in Arabic to them, "Go away if you don't want to be killed." They might have obeyed, but our sailors, in a very excited state, go on handling their guns, and the Moors from fright point their guns at them, whereupon the sailors kill several of them. The Consulate was reached, and the sailors marched into it.

#### WAS THE BOMBARDMENT NECESSARY?

It had been arranged with the *Galilée* that if anything happened the signal for the bombardment would be given, and as soon as the first shot was heard the signal was given. Twenty minutes passed. Commandant Ollivier had fixed this interval, so that the detachment might reach the Consulate. After this the bombardment begins, and about three hours later Muley el Amin sends, through the English Consul, a letter to M. Maigret, who is busy answering it, saying that he will not make any arrangements verbally, and that Muley el Amin and Caid Si Bubeker must come in person. He is writing when they arrive, saying that they cannot help it, and have nothing to do with all that has happened. Muley el Amin asks to be put on board the *Galilée*. This is refused, and he then asks for a French guard, which cannot be given, as there are not even enough soldiers to protect the Europeans.

The *Du Chayla* arrives at about 11, and lands seventy-five men under the command of Lieutenant du Petit Thouars and Ensigns Gaillard and De Teyssier. They have to enter the town through the houses of the Portuguese Consulate and that of M. Maigret, whilst they are protected by the fire from the terraces of a section under Ensign Cosme.

At 3 o'clock there arrives a Spanish gunboat, the *Alvaro de Bazan*, which lands by the same way twenty men, and

they are led to their Consulate by a detachment of twenty sailors under Ensign Cosme.

Commandant Mangin takes the command of the troops landed, which command was given to him by Commander Olivier.

Two quick-firing guns are landed.

The firing goes on, and even at 11 o'clock at night one hears firing near the Swedish Consulate, which is soon stopped by the fire from the big guns from the *Galilée*.

On Tuesday the small tower on the mosque is destroyed, and the *Forbin* lands forty-four men. Ensign Cosme is sent by Commander Mangin to fetch the ammunition from the Government House at the request of Muley el Amin.

On Wednesday Lieutenant du Petit Thouars goes with a patrol to the Spanish and English Consulates, which he liberates from the attacking ruffians, and in the afternoon General Drude lands with his troops and takes possession of the town.

## THE OVERSEAS LEAGUE.

By A. G. WISE,

Secretary of the Overseas League.

IN the last issue of this Review a summary was given of the work of the Overseas League since its foundation in the year 1907. This organization seeks to promote British trade, and endeavours to obtain redress for legitimate grievances of British communities and individuals overseas. During the last quarter satisfactory progress has been accomplished in various directions, and the membership roll steadily increases. The League has sustained a great loss through the death of one of its vice-presidents, the late Colonel Sir C. E. Howard Vincent, M.P., K.C.M.G., C.B., who took considerable interest in the work of the committee. Amongst those who have lately been elected vice-presidents may be mentioned Sir Robert Hay-Drummond Hay, C.M.G., Major W. Anstruther Gray, M.P., and Mr. T. A. Herbert, M.P.; whilst the members include the British Chambers of Commerce of Turkey, Mr. Wilfred Blunt, Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham, Mr. S. L. Bensusan, the Hon. K. Srinivasa Rau, Additional Member of the Madras Legislative Council, Sir Robert Anderson, and a number of well-known British merchants having overseas interests.

### MOROCCO.

#### *A Foreign Criticism.*

The article entitled "British Interests in Morocco," by a member of the Overseas League, published in the April issue of this Review, attracted considerable attention in the European Press. The following criticism of the article in question will probably be perused with interest. The extracts are from a recent issue of the *Deutsche Marokko-Correspondenz*, the official organ of the Deutsches Marokko-

Komitee, which is published in Berlin, and has a wide and influential circulation.

"As is well known, a League has been formed in England with the object of counteracting the injury to trade interests, other than French, consequent on the entry of the French into Morocco. This association bears the name of the 'Overseas League.' Its object is not confined to the protection of British trade in Morocco, which still holds the first place there, but embraces the wider object of the preservation and furtherance of British interests generally.

"A leaflet issued by the League, entitled 'British Interests in Morocco,'\* contains some interesting sidelights on German Morocco policy. It is particularly instructive, as showing how German Morocco policy is viewed by a third party, and as the opinion of an impartial observer.

"Although on the occasion of the last debate of the Reichstag on Morocco, Freiherr v. Hartling, a member of the Centre party, defended the view that the first phase of German Morocco policy, which in our opinion was consonant with the strength and self-respect of a great nation, was less approved of by critics than the present policy, this article affords indisputable proof that the earlier methods for the preservation of German interests in Morocco found approval not only in Germany, but outside.

"There is a large section of the British public that regrets the abandonment of an important line of British trade for fear of offending French *amour propre*. To quiet them it is urged that the proportionately small injury to trade interests may be more than compensated for by advantages arising from the Anglo-French *entente*. It is clear that England seeks to strengthen her French ally so that she may oppose France as a Continental force against Germany. For the Germans in Morocco and their business

\* See our issue for April, 1908, pp. 353-358.

friends at home this is no comfort. In view of the keen competition in overland trade which Germany has to face in these days, and from grounds of general policy, it is difficult to understand why Germany should quietly watch the destruction of her trade in Morocco.

"On one point we think we must differ from the statements of the Overseas League. While the author of the article urges the maintenance of the Act of Algeciras, little is said as to the future of Morocco. France also constantly invokes the Act of Algeciras. At Algeciras German diplomacy, without being conscious of the distance its concessions might be carried to, handed over the organization of the Moroccan police to the French Government. From this beginning France now holds a European commission to keep peace and order in Morocco. If a few French subordinates in the police are killed in Morocco, France has the right to land with a strong army, to cause streams of blood to flow, and to occupy wide tracts of land, all in conformity with the Act of Algeciras.

"Under such conditions the invocation of the Act can only arouse platonic interest. As long as there is no power which gives a limit to the Act, as long in particular as German statesmen are of opinion that France infringes the Act in a way that is termed 'uncertain,' as long as France has the right under the Algeciras Act to commit all kinds of deeds which are contrary to German and English interests in Morocco, so long is the invocation of the Algeciras Act a meaningless farce."

A copy of the foregoing has been sent to the writer of the article in this Review, and we hope to publish his comments in our next issue.

There is little doubt that the position of British subjects in Morocco at the present time is most critical and unsatisfactory.



*The Mogador Memorial.*

Some leading residents of Mogador have furnished the Overseas League with a copy of a Notice which was published in the Treaty Ports by H.B.M. Consuls and Vice-Consuls, and reads as follows :

"British subjects who may now be residing, or who may hereafter take up their abode in, or visit, this district, are hereby notified that they do so at their own risk, and that His Majesty's Government cannot in future undertake to make any pecuniary advance to ransom them from the hands of brigands in the event of their being captured, or to relieve them from the danger they may incur from a residence in Moorish territory."

The following letter was thereupon addressed on April 16 by British residents in Mogador to Sir Gerard Lowther for transmission to Sir Edward Grey :

"We have been informed by Mr. Vice-Consul Wilkinson that His Britannic Majesty's Government cannot in future undertake to make any pecuniary advance to ransom British subjects from the hands of brigands, *or to relieve them from the danger they may incur from a residence in Moorish territory.*

"Fully recognizing the gravity of the situation indicated—or may we say created?—by this very momentous declaration, we desire, as residents of many years' standing, most respectfully to ask the advice of Your Excellency and the Foreign Office on certain details which arise as an inevitable corollary to the Circular in question.

"For more than a century British residents in this country have lived, and carried on trade, under the protection of the Home Government, on the basis of various Treaties with Morocco, the most important of which is perhaps that formulated by Your Excellency's lamented predecessor, Sir John Drummond Hay. We need hardly remind Your

Excellency that, with some trifling exceptions, these Treaties between Great Britain and Morocco have been respected by His Sharifian Majesty the Sultan. Within Treaty limits British subjects have been free to reside, and carry on commerce without let or hindrance. Such grievances as British subjects may have had against the Moorish authorities were purely individual, and had no political significance whatever. On the strength of the Treaties, and the general goodwill of the Moorish Government, British residents and their commercial supporters at home have invested very considerable capital in this country. They have, moreover, succeeded in placing Great Britain at the head of the import trade. This, again, is a matter respecting which we need not weary Your Excellency with details. They are already familiar to the public in the Blue Books issued from time to time by the Foreign Office.

"Where we would beg the favour of counsel from His Majesty's Government is on the following points :

"Is it the wish of His Majesty's Government that we should quit Morocco, and necessarily close our trade relations with this country ?

"In the event of the previous question being answered in the affirmative, what advice are we to give to the business houses of London, Manchester, Birmingham, etc., as to continuing their shipments of British manufactures to Morocco, and what steps should be taken to protect the very important commercial interests confided to our care ?

"Should a British subject for any imaginable reason be unable to leave Morocco, to what authority is he to apply for protection on the basis of existing Treaties between Great Britain and this Empire ?

"The urgency of these problems, not only to ourselves and families, but to the whole of British trade with Morocco, and our consternation on receiving so alarming a message from His Majesty's Government, will perhaps serve as an apology for troubling Your Excellency at this length."

This Petition is now engaging the serious attention of the League, and steps are being taken to obtain some satisfactory assurance from His Majesty's Government.

*The Mazagan Memorial.*

The Overseas League has received from the British community at Mazagan a copy of a Memorial lately presented to the British Minister at Tangier concerning the same important matter. The petition is dated Mazagan, April 28, 1908, and reads as follows :

SIR,

With reference to a Circular dated April 1, communicated to us by Mr. Acting Vice-Consul Lennox, which lays down that no pecuniary advance would under any circumstances be made from the British Exchequer to ransom British subjects in cases when they are captured by brigands when not in a public character, but in pursuit of their own business or pleasure, or to relieve them from the dangers they may incur from a residence in Moorish territory, the undersigned British subjects being merchants, traders, and others engaged in their businesses or avocations, humbly submit that this rule should not be authoritatively laid down—absolutely, but that each case should be considered on its own merits.

The British community of Mazagan having always yielded implicit obedience to every admonition of their Consul in times of disturbances, your petitioners have read the above Circular with serious alarm, as indicating a policy of abstention and abandonment; they beg, therefore, respectfully to remind Your Excellency that they claim all the rights they may be entitled to by treaty, or under the most favoured nation clause, especially that given by Act 5 of the Treaty of 1856, in which—

"All British subjects and merchants who may wish to reside in any part of the dominions of the Sultan

of Morocco shall have perfect security for their own persons and property."

From this your memorialists infer that the right of residence of British subjects in Morocco does not rest on sufferance only.

The trade of Mazagan has now reached large proportions, and the amount invested in property by British merchants is very important, both having grown from small beginnings owing to a sense of security under the protection of H.M. Government. All classes of the community are interested in this development directly or indirectly, and are, therefore, anxious to be assured that they will be protected in the future as in the past, as far as may be possible, otherwise they feel that the withdrawal of this protection may seriously jeopardize their lives and property.

We have the honour to be, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servants,

J. JOSEPH DE MARIA.

Signatures of British residents follow.

SIR GERARD LOWTHER, K.C.M.G., C.B.,  
HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY  
AND ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY,  
TANGIER.

### *A Plea for Penny Postage.*

Questions have been asked in Parliament at the instance of the League on the subject of the exorbitant postal rates to and from Morocco. It is imperative that penny postage be immediately established, if British merchants are not to be placed at serious disadvantage in comparison with French, German, and Spanish traders, who are able to send and receive letters at a reduced cost, while full postal union rates are charged by the British authorities. It is

understood that the Postmaster-General still has the matter under consideration.\*

#### TURKEY.

It is most gratifying to record that an annual grant of £300 has been made from the Imperial Treasury towards the upkeep of the British High School for Boys in Constantinople. Letters of thanks have been received from the North of England Branch of the British Chamber of Commerce of Turkey, and from the committee of the school for the co-operation of the League in this matter. Donations are now being invited for the endowment fund. The school was started in 1905, and a sound commercial education is provided for boys of all nationalities. The political importance of the entirely new precedent which has thus been established can scarcely be over-estimated, and will probably have a wide-reaching effect in our future relations with Turkey. As Sir Adam Block has pointed out, it is of vital importance to British trade that the British colony in Turkey should be strengthened by "being better fitted by linguistic and commercial qualifications to compete with their vigorous and better-trained rivals." Special attention, it may be mentioned, is paid in the school to the teaching of French and Turkish. The Secretary of the Overseas League will be glad to supply further particulars of this most useful institution. There are still a few vacancies for boys of British origin.

#### OTHER COUNTRIES.

Space does not permit of any detailed reference to the work of the League in other parts of the world.

INDIA.—As will be seen by the letter on Indian coolie education published elsewhere (see pp. 174-177), the League

\* Largely as a result of the representations of the Overseas League penny postage to and from Morocco has been conceded since the foregoing paragraph was in type.—ED. A.Q.R.



has been fortunate to obtain an important announcement on this subject from Lord Morley. While fully recognizing the difficulties of the case, it is felt that it is time for this reform to take definite shape. It should be made obligatory for planters to provide schools in their tea-gardens, as is now the case in Ceylon.

CANADA.—At the Colonial 'Conference last year the question of the embargo on Canadian cattle imported into this country was raised by Sir Wilfred Laurier. As Sir Wilfred Laurier justly said, "The exclusion of Canadian live cattle from the English market on the ground that they are tainted with disease is bitterly resented in Canada." The Overseas League have had their attention called to this matter, and the following expression of opinion by Mr. Hamar Greenwood, M.P., addressed to the Overseas League, will doubtless be read with interest :

"The opponents of the removal of the embargo on Canadian cattle give one reason only for their opposition—namely, fear of disease. The fact is, there is no disease, and has never been any scheduled disease in Canada ; and the real objection to the removal of the embargo is a fear that the competition of incoming Canadian cattle would lower the prices of that class of stock in this country. In other words, the embargo gives a certain amount of protection to the British and Irish producer of store cattle, and these producers are fighting for the retention of that protection."

The League, it may be added in conclusion, makes known the wants and views of British colonists, and, in general, seeks to place the overseas point of view before the stay-at-home Englishman, whose outlook, where imperial and foreign problems and politics are concerned, is apt to be singularly prejudiced either by party views, or by culpable indifference and selfish domestic interests.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Wednesday, May 13, 1908, at 4 p.m., a paper was read by Charles E. Drummond Black, Esq., on "The Trade and Resources of Tibet." The Right Hon. Lord Wenlock, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and there were present, amongst others: Sir Lesley Probyn, Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., M.P., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Edward A. Cazalet, Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. Iggulden, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. H. T. Elwes, F.R.S., Colonel E. R. J. Presgrave, D.S.D., Miss Pennington, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Mr. F. O. Vertel, Mr. J. H. W. Arathoon, Mrs. Lecky, Mr. J. S. Cotton, Miss Hindle, Mrs. van Sandau, Mrs. Gilbert Frankau, Mr. F. J. West, Mr. C. J. Ussher, Mr. F. W. Thomas, Mr. C. N. Seddon, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss Stafford, Mr. A. N. Butt, Mrs. Black, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. F. W. Thomas, Miss Streatfield, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Miss C. Massey, Rev. A. C. Taylor, Miss Chapman Hand, Miss Bagram, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, Lord Wenlock, in introducing the lecturer, said they were about to hear a lecture on Tibet from Mr. Drummond Black, than whom few of them could have devoted more attention to that mysterious, unknown country. The Tibetan Expedition of a few years ago had opened their eyes to the possibilities which laid in the direction of extending our trade and commerce from India to that country, and Mr. Black had undertaken to speak to them of the resources of Tibet awaiting development. After the expedition returned from Lhasa, we found that the country was really very much more valuable from the commercial point of view than we had imagined it to be. Mr. Black had travelled in China not far from the northern portions of Tibet, and therefore had some first-hand knowledge of the people of those regions, and of their customs. He (the Chairman) had lived in Tibet for a short time. He was on the western borders, and had opportunities of seeing the people in the surroundings of their homes, and he naturally took an interest now in anything that concerned the country. They would be told that there had been in recent years a change of feeling on the part of the people in respect to European visitors. He recalled that when he was there—now twenty-five years ago—whenever he met a company of lamas his attendants would prostrate themselves before them; but the holy men themselves looked upon him with a scowl of undisguised hatred. It was very evident that they greatly resented the presence of an Englishman in those parts. He was glad to know that that state of feeling had changed for the better, and it was to be hoped that advantage would be taken of the change for the development of Indo-Tibetan commerce. Mr. Black would mention a

point of very great interest to those who had studied the subject—viz., the great mystery which lay over the upper waters of the Brahmaputra, and the absolute ignorance which still existed amongst us of the people living along those reaches. When he was going out to India last he met a gentleman who had done some exploration, and who expressed a hope that Government would give him permission to carry on exploration along the upper waters of the Brahmaputra. But he did not obtain the permission. The Government was extremely nervous of Englishmen getting into trouble with the wild people of those regions. It was to be hoped, however, that no long time would elapse before that particular part of the country was made properly known to us by scientific surveys.

The paper was then read.

MR. FRANK GILES said he would like to say a word with regard to the passes which lie between Kumann and Tibet. Recent events have so concentrated attention on the approaches to Tibet from Bengal that the importance of the old-established trade routes to the only British-Indian Himalayan province, which we acquired in the Nepal War about the time of Waterloo, is apt to be forgotten. Yet the volume of trade over these routes has always been considerable, and has for generations afforded a livelihood to thousands of our Bhoteca fellow-subjects, a race of Central Asiatics who have their home south of the Himalayan watershed. The traffic is purely of barter, no money changes hands, and it is restricted by the very difficult physical conditions and by the fact that Tibetans will not engage as carriers.

The four principal passes are Mani, Niti, Milam, and Darma. A slight description of the Milam Pass answers for them all. The path to the pass enters at Munsiori, the gorge of the torrent called the Gori, which flows out of the great Milam glacier. For sixty miles the narrow track, carved in great part out of the solid rock, winds its sinuous way up a ravine so confined between lofty precipices that there is barely room to pitch a light tent; human habitation is impossible. Again and again the torrent is crossed by shaky cantilever bridges called sangars, destitute of handrails, and often with gaps in the loose plank flooring. Here a slip is fatal. Mr. Giles had seen an unburdened pony stumble, and swallowed up instantly by the river, no trace of it being ever found. At a halting-place called Chirkani, at an altitude of some 7,000 feet, the gorge is hemmed in by vertical walls of rock more than 1,000 feet high, while close by on either side are mountains of over 20,000 feet. The sun passes over this cleft in the earth in little more than an hour, and is no more seen from the camp till the following day. A glacier descends in winter at the foot of the precipice which hems in the northern end of the camping-ground. This glacier destroyed annually masonry, piles, stone cribs, and every other device of the engineers. At length the difficulty was overcome by driving crowbars into the face of the cliff high above the water, and laying the path on them. Then arose an unexpected obstacle. The Bhotecas prised out, and stole the crowbars for the sake of the iron! Not far beyond Chirkani is the Laska slip. Here, for more than a mile, the mountain-side is as flux: huge boulders detach themselves from the half-liquid soil, and thunder

down the slope. The position of the track is continually shifted, and every year lives of men and animals are lost. Not a word is spoken in crossing the slip, lest stones should be started. It needs a good head to travel over the many dizzy heights that have to be crossed. A certain executive engineer, accustomed to clamber about scaffolding, not long since crossed the sangar bridge at Munsiori on his way to inspect the pass, and collapsed on the further side, declaring he could not go on. And he said it was equally impossible for him to go back over the bridge! The only way out was to blindfold him, sling him from a branch, have him carried over the bridge by a couple of Bhotecas, and send him back to Almora. The Gori Valley saw him no more.

The gorge emerges northwards, some twelve miles beyond the true line, into an open valley called Mallor Johar, and formed of the terminal moraines of glaciers which have long retreated. Here are villages inhabited from May to November by 15,000 Bhotecas, and from November to May absolutely deserted and covered with 30 or 40 feet of snow.

All through the summer the men of each household are engaged in driving flocks of sheep and goats and jibus, half bred between the yak and the ox, over the pass into Tibet. The pass reaches a height of 17,500 feet, and the journey at midsummer lies for three days' march over perpetual snow and a frozen lake. From India are carried cloth and grain, and these are exchanged in Hundes for wool, borax, and a little gold washed from alluvial soil.

Until the discovery of mines in Tuscany, crude borax fetched over twenty rupees a maund, but the price has now fallen about 75 per cent., a severe blow to the Bhoteca traders. It is carried to Huldwani, at the foot of the hills, where wood is plentiful, and there refined by evaporation by Hindu merchants. The lecturer had pointed out that a great improvement would be effected if the carriage of the impurities in crude borax could be saved by refining it in Tibet. The advantage would be immense, but there is no timber in Hundes, and the supply of fuel made from dried animal droppings would probably be insufficient.

Wool is brought down in huge loosely compacted bundles, full of grease and dirt, on the backs of jibus. It frequently happens that the jibus are knocked off the paths and over a precipice by these bundles brushing against the cliff on the inner side of the track. It is very desirable that the wool should be both cleaned and pressed before it is packed for carriage. Some years ago Mr. Giles had a specially designed press constructed by a Calcutta firm of engineers, and sent it up to Milam.

The Bhotecas are a cheery, convivial, hard-working race, enterprising and intelligent enough to make their way to Cawnpore, and even to Bombay, for trade. It is impossible to help being attracted by them, but they cordially dislike soap and water. When, therefore, they were invited to wash the wool before pressing it, they would have nothing to do with the business, and preferred the old wasteful and dangerous plan of loose and dirty storage.

The principal market in Hundes is at Ghartok, where the Government of India is now erecting a trade agent's house. And it is in contemplation

to spend some twenty lacs of rupees on improving the Darma Pass. The road to this pass follows the right bank of the Kali or Sarda River, a stream which issues from the hills at Barendo with a volume considerably greater than the Ganges, and constitutes the boundary between Kumaun and Nepal. Hitherto this pass, leading to the holy Manasarowas Lake, has been less used for trade than Milam; but it affords on the Tibetan side easy access to Ghartok. When, therefore, the route along the Kali is improved, it cannot be doubted that trade with Hundes will be greatly stimulated; and if only Tibetans can be induced to turn carriers there should be a bright future for Tibetan commerce in Kumaun; for the enormous mineral wealth of Hundes has not even been tapped, and the Tibetans probably have no real disinclination to trade. The obstacle lies rather in the oppression of their rulers, who have hitherto squeezed from them all profits of their labour. Improved political relations render trouble in this part of the Tibetan frontier improbable, but if it should arise, nothing is easier than to control Hundes. A small guard at the southern ends of the passes with Kumaun, and temporary support from Bhotecas, would in a week or two starve Hundes into submission. The people are entirely dependant for food on imported grain.

MR. H. J. ELWES said he would like to make a few remarks as to the part of Tibet which he knew most about—viz., the eastern part. The lecturer had said that on account of its extreme barrenness and the great altitude at which it lay, Tibet resembled the most forbidding parts of the Arctic regions; but there were no more luxuriant valleys than those on the road to Ta-t sien-lo and other parts of South-Eastern Tibet. Whether it would ever be possible to bring boats from Lhasa down the Brahmaputra to Assam was a geographical problem which could not be decided until the Government showed more enterprise than they had hitherto done. If their officers had been allowed to attempt that after the Tibetan War, there was little doubt that they might have succeeded; but for some reason which was unknown to him, the proposal which was made by some of the officers of the expedition to follow the course of the Brahmaputra into India was not sanctioned. It was absolutely incredible that mountains which were absolutely in sight of stations which had been occupied by the British Government for seventy years were known less of than the most remote parts of Central Africa. Many officers and private individuals (he was one of them) had tried to obtain the permission of the Indian Government to see what they could do in that direction; but the Government were so much disturbed by the murder of two French missionaries, which took place in the Mishmi hills, a little over the frontier, about 1868, that the late Lord Mayo told him in 1870 that if he succeeded in getting over the frontier he would have him arrested. (Laughter.) If that route eventually were explored, then they would know whether it was possible to get boats down the Brahmaputra; but if that was not possible there was another route. While he was waiting at Darjiling, in 1886, for Macaulay's Mission to start—he had been about those hills a good deal before, and he believed he was the first white man to discover or cross the Jelep'la Pass in 1870 with Mr. Blandford, a member of the Geological Survey—he learnt from the



natives that there was a pass which had not been explored, and he went up it with a Mr. Prestage, who had roughly surveyed it. He went into the question afterwards with the late Sir Richard Temple, but, so far as he knew, this pass had not since been regularly surveyed. He believed that this pass was not only the shortest route from any part of British India into Tibet, but it was also one of the lowest and easiest. Tibetan traders would not come down into the hot tropical valleys where their beasts of burden could not live. They wanted a pass at an elevation where there was sufficient grass to keep their animals from starving, and at such a point that they could meet the traders from the plains. He believed that if such a road was made it would be possible to have a slight extension of the Northern Bengal Railway right up to the foot of the hills, and not a tenth of the money need be spent that had been spent on the roads in the North-West. He found a gentle ascent twenty miles long without having to descend at all. In the Tista Valley route there were three deep valleys to cross, each of which involved a descent and an ascent of several thousand feet.

With regard to the articles of trade, there were three things only that would be of great importance. The first was tea. The consumption of China tea of very inferior quality in Tibet was very great. If the importation of Indian tea was allowed, they would be able to get wool, horses, and mutton in exchange. It was true that they could sometimes get an eatable bit of mutton in India, but it would be a thing that would be welcomed if they could get mutton which had been killed at the meeting-point on the frontier. It could be sent down in twenty-four hours, and delivered in Calcutta in chilled meat cars. Then there was butter. They knew what Indian tinned butter was like. Tibetan butter was cheap and good. Then there were plenty of horses. The best mountain ponies he ever had in his life were the Tibetan ponies. They got a certain number at present, and they could get many more if the Tibetans from the interior were allowed to bring them without restriction. He had paid as much as 200 rupees for the Tibetan pony. The Tibetan from whom he had bought it said he had to bring it carrying nothing for perhaps twenty or thirty days' journey. If it was once allowed to bring goods down they would have trade with the Tibetans. What had stopped trade was the determination of the lamas and the Chinese not to let us compete with them. The lamas were like the priests in the Roman States 300 years ago. They thought everything in the country ought to belong to themselves; they took the cleverest lad out of every family into their lamaseries. Nothing like free trade was allowed unless the lamas had all the profits. Many times he had heard Tibetan traders who were able to talk Hindustani say that if they could get rid of the priests they would be like brothers. He entirely confirmed what Captain O'Connor said, that the obstacle to free intercourse with the Tibetans was the existing system. He thought that, though they were outwardly good friends, they were only good friends as long as they could keep our subjects out of the country. Still, he believed that, if the matter were not lost sight of, there would be a possibility of exporting a large quantity of Himalayan tea, which was enormously superior to what

could be bought at present in Tibet. He remembered having a parcel of tea given to him by the then Raja of Sikkim. He showed it to the manager of a tea plantation, who said that if he made tea like that he would expect to get the sack by telegram. (Laughter.) Anybody who knew the way it was made would understand the point of that. If they could send to Tibet tea which was worth three or four annas a pound at Darjiling, which would hardly pay freight and charges home, it would be of enormous advantage to struggling tea-planters. With regard to the quality of wool, he might say that much of it was so dirty and full of impurities that until cleaned it would not compare with English wool; but he had a blanket which he had had in constant use since 1870 made of Tibetan wool, woven in nine-inch strips sewn together, and that blanket was still perfectly good, and much softer and pleasanter to the touch than the average English blanket. He had shown it at a lecture which he had been asked to give at Bradford after the withdrawal of the Macaulay Mission of 1886, and it had been pronounced by experts there to be equal to best Cheviot wool. That was sufficient testimony as to the value of Tibetan wool. (Applause.)

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IGGULDEN said he would like to make a few remarks, as he took part in the late Expedition to Tibet as Chief Staff Officer, and was also on the Sikkim Expedition to those parts as long ago as 1888, since which time he had been frequently on the Tibetan frontier in one affair or another. He thought the chief difficulty regarding trade in Tibet, as had already been remarked, was principally the obstruction by the Chinese, and also to a lesser extent that of the lamas. As long as the Chinese held all the outlets of the principal trade routes into India they would keep trade, especially tea, from coming into Tibet as much as possible, in order to prevent competition with Chinese tea so largely consumed in Tibet. There was no doubt that there was a tremendous opening for trade in Tibet as regards tea and goods of all sorts and descriptions. With regard to the exports from Tibet, in addition to wool and borax there were undoubtedly large gold-bearing areas which would be developed later on. The gold was generally to be found in places which were most difficult of access, but a considerable part of Western Tibet had been worked for ages. There were pits all over the place showing the workings of the gold-diggers. The gold-diggings were of the most crude description; but if they were ever worked in a scientific way, or the original source of the gold was found, as it probably would be at some day, he believed it not improbable that Tibet would be the great gold-producing country of the future. When the expedition was on its way back from Tibet in 1904 they took the trouble to make a rough survey of the route from Phari to India with a view to making a railway to Tibet. It was found that there was no insurmountable obstacle to making a road with a good gradient which could take a light railway from the plains of India to Phari which would avoid the Jelep'la Pass. The route had since been surveyed by the Indian Government, and he believed they had plans of it. Whether it would ever be made or not remains to be seen. There were other roads into Tibet through Bhutan which were just as easy and quite feasible. As recently

as last week he had received a letter from the Maharajah of Bhutan asking him to come and visit his country ; he had struck up a great friendship with him during the Tibet Expedition, and the Maharajah had repeatedly asked him to come and see his country, which he was very anxious to develop. Bhutan was a country capable of very great development, and the Bhutanese were very anxious to improve their country, and wanted someone out there to help them to do it. The passes from Bhutan into Tibet were to the south of Lhasa. There were several of them, and they were easier really than the passes from India. It was difficult for us to know the exact amount of trade that went into Tibet, because most of the trade in Tibet was carried on by the Nepaulese. They had the trade of Tibet almost entirely in their hands. There were hundreds of them in Lhasa, and there were many of them at Gyanise and Shigatse. The greater part of the trade that went into Tibet passed through Nepal. There was also a large trade between Bhutan and Tibet. With a really good road leading to the heart of Tibet from India, either through Sikkim or Bhutan, a big trade would be developed. It would well repay the cost. If the road were made, he thought that trade was bound to follow along it, notwithstanding the obstruction of the Chinese and the lamas. The Chinese were the people they would have the most difficulty with. If it were not for the Chinese trade would go on very fast, because the lamas would not be able to stop it.

MR. J. D. REES, M.P., said that he had not the claim to address the meeting which the other speakers had, but he wished to say a few words owing to the remarks of one of the speakers as to the enterprise, or rather, want of enterprise, of the Government. At such meetings as this there was one thing which was not taken into account which always had to be taken into account in the House of Commons—the temper of that House. They knew that the present Government and the late Government were of one mind with regard to the settlement of the Tibet question ; at any rate that the Liberals followed the Tory lead. They had noticed how successful the present Secretary of State had been in dealing with Indian matters, and he thought they might rest assured that wisdom and firmness would inform all his acts and deeds. As to the trade routes, it seemed to him that if they were to pay, as they did pay, the Border Tribes on the Afghan to keep the passes open, with extremely little return on their part, he could not see why it would not be equally good policy and equally permissible to provide funds to improve the roads into Tibet ; but it must be done on a purely trade basis. That was the way to get things through the House of Commons, though in such a case as this its leave would not be required. He could not help remarking that there had been a division since he had been a member of Parliament upon a question on which the Secretary of State for India and the Government would have been defeated had it not been that the Opposition had stood for the right with the right-minded section of the Liberals. These were not party questions. India was outside party, and all should unite in assisting the India Office and the Government of India. With regard to Indian tea, he sincerely hoped that they would get as much of it as possible into this country, because

even the poorest Indian was infinitely better than the poorest China tea, with which they had lately been swamped largely to the detriment of the interiors of the people of this country. (Laughter.) They wanted to keep that low-class China tea out, and get nothing but Indian tea. He was right in saying that the supply of China tea was rather on the increase. Just of late, though, of course, over a series of years the contrary was the case. Then with regard to wool, the gentleman who knew the country so well had compared the Tibetan wool with the English wool very much to the advantage of the wool of Tibet; but if he had only used Welsh wool instead of English wool he would have been unable to give the preference to the Asiatic product.

COLONEL C. E. YATE said that what they had heard from the lecturer and the various speakers showed conclusively how very important the trade of Tibet was, and what great possibilities there were with regard to that trade in the future. All they had heard that afternoon could only make them regret more and more the serious manner in which the country had been hampered in its relations with Tibet by the Convention lately entered into with Russia regarding that country. After what they had heard from Mr. Elwes and Colonel Iggulden, it was clear that a terrible mistake had been made in restoring Tibet to China. Tibet had, by the Convention, been definitely replaced under the Protectorate of China, which country it had ceased to be dependent on; and this uncalled-for and gratuitous restoration of Tibet to China was clearly operating commercially much to our disadvantage.

As to what had been said about the necessity for improvement of the roads into Tibet, it was clear from Captain O'Connor's letter, which Mr. Black had given at the end of his paper, that there was nothing to prevent this being done, and they could only trust that every endeavour would be made to carry out the work as quickly as possible. Why it had not been done long ago he could not think.

As to the impediments that were being thrown in the way of our trade with Tibet by the Chinese, especially as regards tea, we had given the Chinese Government our full support in regard to the opium trade at much loss to ourselves, and without any return, and it was time now that pressure should be brought to bear upon the Chinese, and that in return for our disinterested help in the opium question, the Chinese should be called upon to give us some help by withdrawing all obstacles on their part to the development of our trade between India and Tibet.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, carried by acclamation, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL, who proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, remarked that they were greatly indebted to him for taking the chair, in spite of demands for his presence elsewhere. (Loud applause.)

The Chairman having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.



## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION.

SIR,

The Anglo-Russian Convention is now an accepted fact. It has passed through the phases of Parliamentary debate and journalistic discussion. The Chancelleries of Europe have, each from the standpoints of their own interest, passed it in review. It has taken its definite place among the treaties with which the civilized world has to reckon.

Contributors to your *Review*, in January and April last, have discussed the influence of this Convention on the political and commercial position of Great Britain in Persia, Turkey in Asia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. The same topic has been freely handled in Parliament and in the Press. The point, however, which neither official expert nor Parliamentary debater, nor journalistic critic has placed in a clear light is how the governments and peoples of the four Asiatic countries above-named regard the provisions of this Convention. I make no pretension to pose as the interpreter of the views of these countries. I can only say that, were I monarch or citizen of any one of them, I should resent and lay myself out to thwart its provisions. I do not doubt that there are foreign Governments and foreign Ministers who, in the fervour of their patriotism, picture the dismemberment and partition of the British Empire; and dream, as Pharaoh dreamed, of the delicious deglutition of the fat by the lean. But the savour of this feast of imagination is kept for the privacy of the inner chamber of their brain. They may look at London with the eyes of Marshal Blücher, but they cannot blurt out, "What a lovely place to loot!" The liberties which European Powers may not take with each other, they may, it seems, take with their "Asiatic neighbours." Time only can show how far and



in what manner the Anglo-Russian Convention will influence the destinies of Persia, Turkey in Asia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. The Amir of Afghanistan has so far ignored it. In his silence, coincident with the Momand outbreak, some discern an ominous significance. I cannot myself discern sufficient grounds for this suspicion.

It is more to the point to consider its effect on the Asiatic policy of Germany. It is some years—fifteen or more—since I first met the gentleman who is now, I believe, German Consul-General at Baghdad. At the time I regarded him as an accomplished dilettante. I have not forgotten the interesting conversations that I had with him on the Messageries Maritimes steamer from Karachi to Marseilles; though those conversations turned rather on Russian intrigue and British ineptitude than on German ambitions. It was not till ten or twelve years later that the fact forced itself upon me that Germany had become a serious competitor with Russia and England in “the Railway Race to the Persian Gulf” (*vide Empire Review* for January, 1902). I think that there are some grounds for believing that a mutual apprehension of German aims has, in part, moved the two signatory Powers to come to an understanding regarding the independent territories situated between their respective possessions in Asia. I read, therefore, with close attention the statement made in the Reichstag, on March 24, by Herr von Schön, the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. As reported by Reuter, I find the following statements significant and worthy of note :

“The Treaty does not extend to the Persian Gulf. Both the contracting parties have taken good care not to intrude upon the rights of third parties. . . . Russia and England have repeatedly, in the most loyal manner, assured us that the rights and duties of others are not affected. . . . Of recent years increasing interest in Persia had made itself felt in circles concerned with the import trade to Persia promoted by the establishment of direct steamship com-

munication from Hamburg to the ports of the Persian Gulf. There is also the question of the founding of a German Chamber of Commerce at Teheran or some other Persian city. Our Commercial Attaché in Constantinople has sent home a study of the economic conditions prevailing in Persia. I should like to pause a moment here. I now come to the Baghdad Railway, and wish to emphasize this pause to show that no connection whatever exists between the Anglo-Russian agreement and the Baghdad Railway. That is not only our view, but also that of Great Britain and Russia, as both Governments have repeatedly and in the most loyal manner assured us, at the same time declaring that on every occasion when a question of interest for Germany arose between them, their Governments would not negotiate further without an exchange of views with us."

I believe myself that, although the Government of Germany may maintain that there is no connection between the Anglo-Russian Convention and the Baghdad Railway, circumstances will inevitably bring about that connection. It is the opinion of great strategists and statesmen of to-day that a rival Power in the Persian Gulf is a danger to our Indian Empire. It is certain that British commercial interests in the Persian Gulf, on the waterway from the mouth of the Shatt-al-Arab to Baghdad, and throughout the southern half of Persia, will suffer from German competition fostered by the Baghdad Railway, by steamers plying between Hamburg and the ports of the Persian Gulf, and by the German Chamber of Commerce in Persia. The resuscitated fertility and wealth of Mesopotamia must find its chief outlet through the ports of the Persian Gulf. A sharp conflict between British and German interests in that quarter is but a question of time. Hitherto we have regarded Russia as the one Power that menaces our Indian frontier. It is practically certain that Germany will also in time assume that position. She is pushing her way in Asia Minor, in Syria, in Turkish Arabia, and in East Africa. Her commerce and consequent power is steadily

growing in the Far East; she is, in fact, at the present moment the chief commercial rival of Great Britain, and the Persian Gulf is more within her reach than in that of Russia. As Herr von Schön stated, the Baghdad Railway is supported by German, French, Austrian, Italian, Swiss, and Turkish capital, and is being constructed under German direction. England and Russia alone, of European Powers, stand aloof from it. They have the most to apprehend from it. It traverses the schemes of Russia and threatens the tranquillity of India.

It is noteworthy that the Convention contains no reference to the Indo-European Telegraph, which is controlled from the India Office and traverse Persia.

Your obedient servant,

A. C. YATE.

May 11, 1908

## THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN ON INDIAN PLANTATIONS.

SIR,

On several occasions in the pages of this Review I have had occasion to record the steps which have been taken by the Governments of India and Ceylon with a view to provide more adequate facilities for the education of coolie children on plantations. The matter was first brought up by myself in this country and in the East some five years ago; and it is satisfactory to record that in Ceylon an Act came into force on January 1 of this year, by which planters are called upon to provide for the vernacular education of the children they employ between the ages of six and ten. Some interesting despatches on the subject were published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1906; and, although the authorities have not furnished me with copies of later reports with respect to Assam, the summary given in this Review in the issue for last January of Captain Kennedy's report shows pretty clearly what line of action is likely to be adopted. I am now

in receipt of a letter sent by the direction of the Secretary of State for India, dated May 6, which will supply your readers with the latest information available :

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, LONDON.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th ultimo, on the subject of the education of coolie children in Assam, and to express regret that no copies of any recent report on the subject are available for distribution.

The Government of India attach considerable importance to the question, which has recently formed the subject of special enquiry, of improving the educational facilities in the case of these children. They agree in the following recommendations, made by the officer deputed by the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam to enquire into the existing condition of education upon the tea estates, and accepted by the Local Government—namely :

- (a) That where the schools are not Government, or aided, schools, they should be entirely under the control of the managers of the tea-gardens.
- (b) That the instruction to be imparted in all schools should be of the simplest character, and entirely in the vernacular.
- (c) That no fees should be charged, and that attendance at the schools should not be compulsory.

They consider it necessary, in view of the elasticity and variation of detail requisite, that the teachers should be selected mainly from employes of the garden, and that the decision as to the vernacular adopted in each school should be left to the manager.

The educational inspecting staff of the province will be available for the inspection of Government schools, and for helping managers who may seek advice, while in the case of aided and unaided schools an annual examination

will be held for the fixing of capitation allowance and the giving of leaving certificates where required, and the schools will be occasionally visited by the District Officer.

The Local Government, to whom is left the adoption of the measures sanctioned, have accepted a proposal that fifty additional Government lower primary schools should be established on tea-gardens, and it is understood that they are likely to adopt the Bengal system of grants-in-aid as a means of encouraging the establishment of more aided schools on estates.

In conclusion, I am to observe that the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India are familiar with recent educational developments in Ceylon. It is considered that in Assam three types of school will be suited to the requirements of different localities—namely :

(1) Government lower primary schools, managed and maintained entirely by Government; (2) aided schools, corresponding with the State-aided schools of Ceylon; (3) private schools, open to informal inspection, similar to the private unaided schools of Ceylon.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) COLIN CAMPBELL.

The Committee of the Overseas League have, I am glad to say, taken up this matter very actively, and it is interesting to note also that questions on the subject have recently been put in the House of Commons. In justice to the Government of India it is but fair to bear in mind that these coolies belong to a very low strata of the population, and, as has been pointed out by Sir Henry Cotton, in the grades above them, such as the ordinary cultivator, primary education in India is still lamentably backward. The number of children affected is, it is estimated, about two hundred and fifty thousand, of whom less than one thousand attend school.



In conclusion, I may add that I shall feel greatly obliged if anyone who is interested in this particular question would be good enough to communicate with me at the offices of the Overseas League, Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W.

Your obedient servant,

A. G. WISE.

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THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF  
ST. HELENA.

IN the report of the St. Helena Committee of last year, the chairman, the Hon. M. H. Hicks-Beach, with reference to the withdrawal of the troops from this historic place, states: "The community settled in the belief that so long as England retained her great military position in the world the permanent residents would have work to do. In good faith the people settled there and bred cattle and sheep for the needs of the military. Now, with the withdrawal of the troops, their position was sufficient to excite the sympathy and aid of everyone who cared for his fellow-citizens. The Government had not done enough. There were 3,500 people there in a state of absolute penury. Unless something could be done they must starve to death. He did not believe that the Government was opposed to doing what it could, but it remained for the public to make the Chancellor of the Exchequer put his hand into the pockets of the State and grant more assistance." Also Mr. Fulton states "that before he went there he heard a great many reports about the island, but it was impossible for him to have imagined the miserable state of the great majority of the inhabitants. When the garrison was withdrawn, all the produce became useless. The farmers had imported stock to improve the breeds and increase the herds, but now the cattle and the sheep were roaming the island eating grass. With the exception of a few tradespeople in Jamestown there was no one to purchase. He thought it was the duty of the Mother Country to make some provision for her children.

Before flax could be grown profitably the question of transport must be considered. The roads were impassable and neglected. The Government had done well by its grant, but he suggested that a further sum, to be spent in road-making and other public purposes, would be money well laid out."

In these deplorable circumstances the committee earnestly appeals for help on behalf of the residents of the island in their distress and suffering. Subscriptions may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. I. C. Mellis, C.E., 264, Gresham House, Old Broad Street, London, E.C.; or to the Secretary, Mr. A. G. Wise, Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W.

We have received the following letter from Mr. Pennington :

AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. HERBERT BURROWS.

DEAR MR. BURROWS,

I write to you as a friend, on the strength of a very slight acquaintance at one of Dr. Stanton Coit's meetings, to say that I have read your paper on "The Problem of India"\* with a great deal of interest and sympathy. India is indeed a most serious problem for England, and it may well be, as Mr. Grant Duff used to say, that the attempt to govern India from England is the most gigantic blunder ever committed by any nation. It would be altogether impossible without what may fairly be called the "loyal" co-operation of an immense army of Indian assistants; and when you speak of the "impassable gulf between the rulers and the ruled," I think you rather fail to appreciate how cordially, as a rule, we work together, and how very independent the best of our Indian officials are. True, they are generally our subordinates, and you may think on that account that they are too much in fear of us to be candid; but that is really a great mistake, and, though they are officials, they are none the less part

\* Published in *India* on December 20 last.

of the people, and quite eager to uphold the cause of their own people. You seem to me to misapprehend altogether the terms on which we up-country people live amongst the people when you say that "not one Anglo-Indian official in a hundred could possibly take an impartial view of the needs of the millions of the so-called inferior races committed to his charge." I venture to say with some confidence that no decent district officer ever thinks of the people as an "inferior" race, and I am sure that as a rule his main object in life is to get as much justice and sympathy for the ryots as he possibly can. Depend upon it, a good district officer—and there are more good than bad—identifies himself with the people of his district in a fashion it is, perhaps, difficult for an English official to understand.\*

Then you speak of broken pledges, and quote Lord Lytton as sufficient evidence that every Government of England and India since 1858 has broken the solemn promise of the Queen. I venture to say that his so-called candid confession is quite out of place, because, in fact, there has been no such treachery as he imagined. The only promise that could be referred to was that to the effect that natives of India should be eligible to any office in India for which they might be qualified, and should not be excluded on account of colour, race, or religion, but *always provided* that such employment should be *consistent with the maintenance of British supremacy*. This condition was expressly stated more than once at the time of the proclamation and in 1833; and even if it had not been stated it must have been inferred, because it is obvious that as long as India depends mainly on a European army the heads of the civil administration must be chiefly English. As a matter of fact, the Civil Service of India (and every appointment in it) is open every year to Indians as well as English, and there is nothing to prevent them from ousting

\* Did you see Mr. A. K. Connell's little speech on the subject at a meeting of the East India Association, at which I read a paper? (*Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October last, p. 369).

the English altogether, in which case it would be absolutely essential to alter the present system of recruitment.

I am not going to pretend that the Government of India is faultless, but I do say that it compares favourably with those of most countries,\* and when you say that it is "idle to talk of the equity and morality of English rule in India" I think you go a great deal too far, unless you mean that it is idle to speak of equity and morality in connection with any human government.

Mr. John Morley can, no doubt, defend himself, but it is surely rather too rhetorical to charge him with flogging students for political offences. Are you quite sure that anyone in India was ever flogged for a political offence? I doubt it very much; and, much as I am opposed to flogging as a punishment, I am not sure that Mr. Morley can be blamed for not at once repealing an Act which has been in force for over forty years, and is not altogether inappropriate in the case of schoolboys who take to assaulting the police. What is there contrary to the Queen's proclamation in such a punishment?

Nothing in your paper surprises me more than your assertion that the figures, statements, and arguments of Mr. Hyndman had not only remained unanswered, but had been over and over again admitted by the officials themselves. I was under the impression that every official who had taken the trouble had at least challenged both his facts and his arguments (I even flattered myself that *I* had disposed of him some years ago in the *Ethical Review*, or whatever it was called!), and as you only quote Sir Charles Elliott and Sir William Hunter as witnesses in his favour, I conclude there are no others. What, then, does their corroboration amount to? Simply that a proportion of the people, ranging from 20 to 50 per cent. (a very rough estimate), go through life on insufficient food, a fact that is dreadful enough, but no proof that the country is being

\* See a paper by Mr. Howard Campbell, the missionary, who boldly proclaims himself a Socialist, and has spent twenty years amongst the people.

"drained of its very heart and life," as you say, by the "export of food and wealth." As you know, it is estimated on more careful data than any at the disposal of Sir Charles Elliott, that about 30 per cent. of the people in this wealthy country go through life on insufficient food, and that about 10 per cent. are so hopelessly impoverished that we have to spend fourteen millions a year in feeding them. Would you prohibit the export of grain? You say that under native rule enormous works of irrigation were carried on, and stores of food were laid up to meet distress in bad years, but you must be aware that, admirable as were the irrigation works carried out in former days, they have no claim to be called "enormous" when compared with the really gigantic works carried out by Sir Arthur Cotton and his successors in the last sixty or seventy years. Nor was there ever a time in the history of India when such an immense area was completely protected from famine as now. It seems to me unfair and disingenuous to ignore these facts for the defence. As to the storage of grain so much advocated by that true friend of India, Sir William Wedderburn, I must say that it seems to me that the circumstances of India have been entirely changed by railways and other means of communication. As Sir William himself always says, there is never now a famine of *food*, but only of money or credit to buy it. It is a fact that railways mitigate the mortality from famine by bringing food from places where it is abundant to places in the grip of famine; in former days there might be abundance in a place only 100 miles from a famine area, but no possibility of saving the lives of those affected. Grain might even rot on the ground in one part of India while famine was raging in another for want of transport and means of communication. If you had known India even forty-five years ago, as I did, you would appreciate the improvement in communications and the incalculable difference roads and railways have made. When you compare the statistics of mortality in pre- and post-railway times, you must make



some allowances for the inaccuracy of old accounts. It was not till quite recent times that it was thought possible to cope with famines at all, and probable enough that no one in pre-British days thought it worth while to attempt to count those that died. Nothing so horrible as the Guntūr famine in 1833, with its ghastly tale of corpses whitening all the road to Nellore (my first district), is possible in these days, thanks mainly to the railways.

I wonder what authority you have for saying that the British Government "exact the tax before the crops are cut"? I don't think it is so in Madras. After your description of the "ghastly and vicious circle ending in famine and death," isn't it somewhat remarkable that the population increases at a rate that is often alarming, and that in the last great famine the increase was much greater in British India than in the Native States?

After all, our government is, no doubt, far too expensive for the country, and it is a question, as you say, whether India does not pay too dearly for insurance against external attack and internal disturbance. No doubt, also, it is for the people themselves to decide in the last resort whether they wish us to remain or not; but as it would be infinitely more difficult for us to get out of India than it was to get in, it seems impossible for us to leave at present unless we are turned out, and this you candidly admit. What, however, is the good of making what would certainly look like hypocritical declarations that we only hold India until "the people are ready to take over charge"? No one at present can see any prospect of such an event, and I much prefer Mr. Morley's honest admission that, as far as he can see, there is no prospect of Home Rule in India.

However difficult the task may be, we are committed to the government of India, whether we like it or not, and all we can do is to infuse as much ethical principle into our system as possible. So far I entirely agree with you.

Yours very truly,  
J. B. PENNINGTON.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS ; EDINBURGH  
AND LONDON.

1. *The Marches of Hindustan*, by DAVID FRASER. If all books of travel were like this one, of which we do not pretend to give more than a bare account, they would be a more delightful class of books than they are at present. Mr. Fraser has peacefully traversed most of the lands from the Frontier to Persia, and has described them with his usual intelligence and skill. From Sikkim he entered Tibet, and his accounts of that table-land are admirable. He was much struck with the signs of former prosperity, and the obvious falling off of the population and culture since Lamaism has waxed strong. The beautiful Kulu Valley (of which he gives photographs which, alas ! do not come up to his descriptions of the scenery) next claimed his attention ; Lahoul and Zanskar—that “paradise for women”—and then Leh are noticed. We read of his difficulties and dangers from the glaciers and the Karakoram Pass when entering Chinese Turkestan. Khotan is well described, and the difference between the present tumble-down town and the fine capital of Fa'hien duly noticed. Yarkand was next reached, and then Kashgar, where the traveller was the guest of the powerful British Agent, Mr. Macartney. Interesting chapters are given about the Turkomans, their pre-Buddhistic antiquities and history, and their condition under Chinese rule, including the recent abolition of slavery. Russian territory was entered with difficulty, but, once in it, Mr. Fraser was not badly used, save in the matter of taking photographs. He pays Russian courage a high tribute, and believes in a great future for their race, and specially notices their tolerance to their less civilized fellow-subjects. In fact, he says, “Russia and England at present are firmly seated in the Orient ;

Russia more or less at home, England as an exotic." His visit to Meshed and his journey through Persia to Teheran ended his travels, and excellent chapters on the economic problem, the Caspian Littoral, and on Russia and Britain in Central Asia, complete this well-illustrated and valuable book.—A. F. S.

2. *In the Footsteps of Marco Polo: Being the Account of a Journey Overland from Simla to Peking*, by MAJOR CLARENCE DALRYMPLE BRUCE, late commanding the Chinese Regiment of Infantry. Major Bruce had had, before setting out upon his eventful and interesting journey, the advantage of several years' residence in Wei-hai-wei and the regions near it, so that he was able to approach his subject with a certain amount of stiffening in the shape of first-hand Chinese knowledge. It is only by travellers licence that the title given to his book can be applied to a route not more than a good third of which was traversed by Marco Polo: the portion from Leh to Polu, passing through a bleak and almost uninhabited corner of Western Tibet, seems to be nearly the same (barring Karakoram), except that it is in the reverse direction, as that described by Mr. Crosby, whose "sentimental journey" was noticed in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1906, pp. 197-200; whilst Dr. Stein has already thoroughly discussed all the obscure points in connection with Kiria, Pimo, Uzun-tati, and so on. The chief merit of Major Bruce's work lies in its frank and comparatively artless descriptions of Tibetan, Turki, and Chinese life, as he actually saw it from day to day, with a special eye upon opportunities for sport. The historical portions present little, if anything, that is new, and there is, moreover, considerable looseness. For instance, Chang Kian (p. 93), or Chang Ch'ien (p. 101), never made any allusion to Buddhism, which did not first enter China from "our great Asiatic dependency" (p. 203), but by way of Bactria. The Tian-shan "Pei-zu" (p. 199) should be "Pei-lu," and "Llemi" (p. 202) should be "Shensi"; nor was the original home

of the Uei-chi or Yüeh-chi "between Khotan and China" (p. 93), nor that of the Turks "in the vicinity of the Altai Mountains" (p. 96), but both were very much in the same place—i.e., in the neighbourhood of Shan-tan, the ramshackle old town Major Bruce himself visited (p. 259); nor did the Mongol conquest begin in A.D. 950 (p. 94), unless we are to consider the Khitans or Cathayans (p. 356) as Mongols, which they were not, and which Major Bruce himself never suggests they were; as a matter of fact, the Cathayans (the modern Solons) were ousted by the Nüchêns, or early Manchus, and the Nüchêns were ousted, in turn, by the Mongols, about A.D. 1200. Again, Fah Hien left China in A.D. 399, and returned after fifteen years' travel; whilst Hiuen Tsang left in A.D. 629, and returned after seventeen years' travel, neither of them being "as long ago as the fifth century," or coming anywhere near it, not even touching that century (p. 103). Major Bruce, it is true, makes no claim to special knowledge, but, none the less, it must be pointed out that inaccuracies of this kind at once leave their hall-mark on the value of the book. In the same way, the sketch of ancient history (p. 315) is of very mediocre value, whilst Pauthier's wild remark (quoted on p. 204) that "people from India passed into Shensi more than 1,000 years before our era, and at that time founded a state named Tsin," is downright nonsense.

Notwithstanding, Major Bruce's book is eminently readable, and perhaps the most valuable and novel part of it is the careful description of the *loess* country, which the enterprising author studies on the spot by the light of Richt-hofen's masterly analysis. It was fortunate that the travellers, on reaching Lan-chou Fu, decided for the rarely trodden northern route by way of King-yang and Fu Chou to T'ai-yüan Fu. Particular mention must be made of the photographic reproductions, which are excellent, and very characteristic. The large map, or route-chart, at the end is decidedly valuable, but the less said about the index the better; it is astonishing how few authors will settle them-

selves down to the laborious but meritorious and supremely useful work of providing a thoroughly efficient index, without which the best of books is apt to lose half its permanent value as a work of reference. The spelling of proper names is almost as irregular as with Mr. Crosby; there seems to be a fatality, positive and negative, about the Chinese final "g" in foreign hands, like that about the initial "h" in the mouths of the "lower orders" of England. For *Hsin-chiang* and *Tun-hwang* Major Bruce persistently writes *Hsing* and *Tung*, whilst for *Chung-king* he has *Chun-king*. The "*Tiang Ho*" (Danga River) of p. 219 is probably a misprint for *T'ang*. If Major Bruce had succeeded in getting some specialist, fairly acquainted with Chinese literature, to go through his book for him previous to printing it, things would have been much better.—E. H. PARKER.

CAMBRIDGE: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

35 3. *The Crusaders in the East*, by W. B. STEVENSON, M.A. The author has done good work by pointing out in this short but valuable book of under four hundred pages that the popular conception of the Crusades is wrong. After the First Crusade, there was not a number of descents on the East which could be differentiated, unless somewhat arbitrarily, but a continual stream of Western strength flowing eastwards. Each Crusade tried anew to infuse new force into the moribund kingdoms and principalities which the First Crusade had left, and to do ineffectual battle against the growing strength of the Moslem power. During the two centuries covered by the Crusades, the chief acquisitions of territory were made, during the first expedition. The Greek Emperor, who summoned the Latins to his aid, and the Pope, who called them to deliver the Holy Places, had little to do with the formation of the Latin kingdoms in Palestine, which owed their foundation chiefly to the desire of their French or Norman princes for advancement. After that the Moslem reaction began, and the Latins had to fall



back on defensive tactics ; and though Crusade after Crusade was sent out from the West in the thirteenth century, they accomplished remarkably little, while the Christian princes, having differing interests, were never at one in policy. To this and their inherent weakness, and not to degeneracy, the writer attributes their final decline, and he supports his thesis with an admirable historical account, citing many Eastern authorities.—A. F. S.

THE CLARENDON PRESS ; OXFORD.

4. *Studies of the Medicine of Ancient India. Part I., Osteology, or the Bones of the Human Body*, by A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E., late Principal, Calcutta Madrasa, 1907. The object of this treatise is to exhibit the anatomical knowledge disclosed in the works of the earliest medical writers of India, probably in the sixth century before the Christian era. The author discusses the interesting question of the relation of the medicine of the Indians to that of the Greeks. "The possibility, at least, of a dependence of either on the other cannot well be denied when we know as an historical fact that two Greek physicians, Ktesias, about 400 B.C., and Megasthenes, about 300 B.C., visited or resided in Northern India." "Another object of the present treatise is to vindicate the true form of the osteological summaries of Charaka and Su'sruta," which he does with great ability and research. There are many useful and interesting illustrations, and a full index.

CHAPMAN AND HALL ; LONDON.

5. *Ancient China Simplified*, by EDWARD HARPER PARKER. This book, of which only advanced copies are as yet available, is written in a novel style, the special object of the innovation being to prevent a feeling of tediousness in the reading of an obscure subject. There are forty-seven short chapters, so arranged that persons unfamiliar with Chinese proper names are gradually led up by easy

stages to the few absolutely essential ones. On the other hand, the thread of the main narrative is broken frequently, so that new ideas may be introduced, and new aspects of the drama presented by way of enlivening a narrative only too apt to pall if too prosily told. There are nine simple maps, each containing an irreducible minimum of place-names, and each illustrating the particular political situation under review. The index, which is a full one, contains almost every word and idea used in the text which is likely to create a passing impression on the general reader's mind, so that frequent cross-references may be rapidly made to refresh the memory. The contents or chapter list and digest contains, in condensed form, on the average, about 5 per cent. of the total text of each chapter, and there is besides an Explanatory Introduction, and also an Aid to Memory page, with separate lists of the chief places and persons mentioned.

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CHICAGO UNIVERSITY PRESS.

6. *Old Testament and Semitic Studies, in Memory of William Rainey Harper, edited by Robert Francis Harper, Francis Brown, and George Foot Moore.* Two vols.

The two volumes under review reflect great credit on the Chicago University. They contain works of real scientific value, and of equally remarkable typography. We find studies on the Old Testament of Toy, Briggs, Moore, etc., on numerous and varied subjects: Isaiah xl.-lxii. the name "Jahveh," the rhythmical poetry of the old Hebrews, the pre-existence of the soul in the Book of Wisdom and in the rabbinical writings, the Book of Esther, Esdras, Nehemiah, etc., There are Aramæan, Assyrian, and Arabic studies—i.e., a hymn to the Goddess Bau (Dyneley Prince), the cylinder and cone seals in the Museum of the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (Hayes Ward), Dhimmis and Moslems in Egypt (Gottheil), etc. Studies on the Old Testament, however, predominate. We draw the reader's attention to several Memoirs of particular interest—for instance: "An

Omen School Text" (Jastrow), "The Origin of Some Cuneiform Signs" (Barton), "Critical Notes on Esther" (Haupt), etc. It is with great pleasure that I have gone through the pages of these two volumes. They remind me of the very warm reception that the University of Chicago gave me last year, and the names of the numerous fellow-labourers of this work have brought back to my mind the friendly and cordial reception that I received at the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard, Columbia, Bryn Mawr College, and at the institutions of high instruction in the United States and in Canada.—EDWARD MONTET.

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HARPER AND BROTHERS; 45, ALBEMARLE STREET,  
LONDON, W., AND NEW YORK.

7. *Between the Twilight: Being Studies of Indian Women, by One of Themselves*, by CORNELIA SORABJI. In the preface it is stated that "in the language of the zenana there are two twilights—when the sun drops into the sea, and when he splashes up stars for spray—the union, that is, of earth and sun, and again of light and darkness." The authoress, as none but one brought up from infancy in the zenana, could give to the outsider such, as this interesting volume gives, an insight into the teaching and social habits of the inmates of the zenana. The volume is well written, and the stories are both picturesque and interesting. There is a short glossary of certain terms used by the authoress. The reader may judge as to the author's style from her description of the Indian wife. She says: "Take the Indian wife. Was there ever the world over a like conception of the married state? Chief priestess of her husband, whom to serve is her religion and her delight. One with him in the economy of the household, certainly, but moving in a plane far below him for all other purposes—religious, mental, social; gentle and adoring, but incapable of participation in the larger interests of his life, incapable of participation even in his games.

" 'We are richer,' 'We are poorer'—that the bounds of a joint intelligence. To please his mother, whose chief handmaiden she is in things domestic, and to bring him a son—these her two ambitions; but the latter chiefly, for to the mother of a son will a husband forgive even wrangles in the house-place.

" Oh, the worshipping of gods, the consultings of oracles, the stealthy working of charms to this end! And if the gods prove gracious, proud indeed is the little lady, a creature of good omen, a being to be welcomed at feasts, to be invoked by the childless. No longer is she a failure; even widowhood would leave her with the chastened halo of that son who is worthy to offer sacrifices.

" Such an attitude of mind may seem irrational to the alien, but it should be remembered that the whole idea of marriage in the East revolves simply on the conception of life; a community of interests, companionship—these never enter into the general calculation. Nor is this strange when one reflects on how large a place life must fill in the thoughts of a people believing in reincarnation. As a life-bringer alone has a woman her place in the scheme of Hindu philosophy. For life and religion are inextricable in the loom of time, and woman never did have a Vedic value.

" Look at her, then, our little Hindu type of wifehood—gentle, submissive, a perfect house-mistress, moving softly about the women's domain, 'the inside.' Up with the dawn, she bathes and worships—worships her own special godling, and tends her sacred plant, then draws from some ancestral well the water for the household needs, scorning no domestic duty. A picture good to see is she on these occasions, her pretty red draperies girt out of harm's way while she heaves aloft the shortening rope with subtle grace. Mark the poise of head, the turn of slender wrist as the first shafts of daylight strike brilliance from mystic amulet or jewelled armlet. Further domesticities occupy the day, with, perchance, a little gossip in the house-place

ere the evening meal brings fresh need for a skilful house-mother. She waits upon her husband while he feeds: silent in his presence, with downcast eyes, to look him in the face were bold indeed. Perhaps he talks to her of village or family interests; she would not think it strange did he not.

"The boy! Ah yes, he is a tie. Encouraged by her husband, she will quote his sayings or boast his feats and feignings. But there is no evening home-life, as in the land across the seas. After feeding, the man seeks his men companions, with their talk or their gambling. So, watch the little lady clean her pots and hie her safe to bed, content."

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, NEW YORK,  
BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA.

8. *India and the Empire: A Consideration of the Tariff Problem*, by M. DE P. WEBB, C.I.E., with an Introduction by SIR EDWARD F. G. LAW, K.C.M.G.; K.C.S.I., late Finance Minister of the Government of India. That able economist, from his wide experience as Chairman of the Kerachi Chamber of Commerce, and as having been the representative on those occasions in London, Montreal, and Calcutta at conferences of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire and of India, is eminently qualified to support the policy of Preferential Tariffs, especially with respect to India. He dedicated his work to Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and Mr. Alfred Deakin. In considering the importance of this question towards India, it has to be kept in view that our great Eastern Dependency supports almost one-fifth of the population of the world, and its over-sea trade is almost as much as that of Canada, Australia, and all the other British Colonies put together. Hence these facts alone should place India well in the forefront of any scheme whose aim is the federation of the British Empire, or the establishment of Preferential Trade within the Empire. Therefore the object of Mr. Webb, in his



well-reasoned book, is—(1) to briefly present the case for Tariff Reform and Preferential Trade in a somewhat new garb; and (2) more particularly to exhibit the true position and strength of India, its possibilities in the future, and the great importance of her assuming a leading part in the discussion of Imperial Tariff. The numerous facts and arguments adduced by Mr. Webb and Sir Edward Law ought to be studiously pondered by the electorate and every member of the British Parliament. There are three important appendices, the first containing an extract from Mr. Chamberlain's famous speech delivered in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on October 6, 1903, exhibiting his proposals for initiating a scientific fiscal policy in the United Kingdom; the second appendix the Indian tariff; and the third elaborate tables showing the growth of India's oversea trade from 1896-1897 to 1905-1906. At the former period the *exports* amounted to £66,587,107, and at the latter they amounted to £105,452,776. The *imports* were £47,862,558, and at the latter period they amounted to £68,710,440.

9. *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*, by HOSEA BALLOU MORSE, A.B., Harvard, Statistical Secretary at the Inspectorate-General of Customs, China, etc. There is no man living better qualified to write a good book upon the above subject than Mr. Morse, whose contributions to official and commercial literature have been well known and highly appreciated in the Far East for many years past. In addition to his official position, which, of course, gives him the best possible opportunities for accumulating sure knowledge, Mr. Morse keeps up his Harvard traditions, and writes with a sprightliness and precision that savour of scholarliness and science; above all, we are grateful to him for not having indulged in American spelling, not to say slang phraseology. In fact, his excellent, clearly printed, and exceedingly cheap work is one of the highest order and most trustworthy credentials. It is no mere academical study, but is instinct with truth, born of personal knowledge, in every line. If scissors and

paste have been used, it is not because Mr. Morse has not examined his borrowed facts and duly weighed them, but because he is too generous, having come to original conclusions identical with those previously expressed by other writers, to shine by his own guiding light, except in the company of those who did pioneer work as beacons before him. In the same just and liberal spirit have been written his admirable and perfectly novel chapters upon the working of the foreign Customs and Post-Office. We are pleased to note with what genuine, whole-hearted, and tactful appreciation he speaks of the services of his venerable chief, Sir Robert Hart, now residing at home, after over fifty years' work in the Customs, and forty-five solid years on end as full Inspector-General. No book of sterling value upon Chinese trade and administration has yet been written with so little indigestible introductory and basic matter for the busy commercial man to struggle with. It is all well-cooked, seasoned, and appetizing matter, to be assimilated without effort. Mr. Morse is no "sinologue," and he tells us plainly that he can add very little to the knowledge of that individual (taken collectively). So far from reducing the value of his book, however, this fact will make it all the more acceptable to the "reader of to-day," and to the "majority of the men of Western countries living in China," who, as he remarks with perfect accuracy, "know little of the people among whom their lives are spent, or of the Empire within whose borders they pursue their avocations." The only preliminary padding—if so disrespectful a term may be used of introductory Chinese history—has been entrusted to the practised hand of the Rev. F. L. Hawks Pott, D.D., whose little "Sketch of Chinese History" had already, two years ago, achieved some deserved reputation. Mr. Morse thinks that "to understand the Chinese which the student of the future will know, he must be able to study its past." Mr. Pott's history (two chapters) only takes up forty-five pages in all, and even the Shanghai Philistine ought to be able to spare

time from his club and his paper-hunts to master this easy dose. It is in connection with Mr. Hawks Pott's contribution that we have to make our only unfavourable criticism, and we willingly acquit Mr. Morse of participation in so untenable an opinion. It is stated on the very first page that "the Chinese are not the native race of China, but migrated into the country from Western Asia somewhere about B.C. 2500." There is not the faintest shadow of evidence of such origin and such migration in Chinese history or tradition; and, were it not that Mr. Pott's cloth, perhaps, made adherence to the literal Tower of Babel version, a matter of professional duty, we could hardly conceive the possibility of his believing a story which otherwise savours only of the imaginative Mr. T. W. Kingsmill and his strange "Dik" theories.

To return to our author. In the chapter on Extra-territoriality, that "orotund" subject is discussed with judicial impartiality in its effects upon missionary, merchant, and foreign official. Perhaps nowhere else has it ever been presented in so concise and easily digestible a form. The admirable chapter on Currency appeared recently in the *Journal* of the Shanghai Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; but it well deserves reproduction, as it gives us almost the last word upon a fascinating but infinite subject. It is followed by a judicious subsidiary chapter upon Weights and Measures. However much the Philistine may wince at having to read ever so little about Ancient History, he cannot but devour with greedy curiosity those three lucid chapters which immediately concern his personal and pocket interests. It need hardly be said that Foreign and Internal Trade are handled in an up-to-date and masterly fashion, and the same thing with those on Government and Revenue, matters which intimately concern the specific interests of investors. Mr. Morse has been able to insert all the changes (mostly verbal, after all) which have recently been made in the grouping of Chinese State departments. It is with government as with clothes: whether you say

breeches, clout, trousers, or petticoat, after all, it is your nakedness you wish to conceal and to protect. With government, it is the men who act and the practical principles they put in actual force that count, no matter whether you say Tsung-li Yamên or Wai-wu-pu, Examination, system, or Progress. That the seeds of progress have taken root at last in China is undeniable, and no amount of new nomenclature can either arrest or hurry on a movement which rests upon the solid basis of liberty and self-protection from a past nightmare of alien hectoring. Within the past ten years the number of treaty ports has been doubled, and Mr. Morse gives us a short sketch of each one. We might add that he would have enhanced the permanent value of his book if he had published an easy sketch-map of each one, too, the blocks for which would be easily procurable from the Decennial and other Customs Reports. Nothing is more interesting than to study the topography of a place as you sail into it, and at the same moment read about it. There you have Geography, History, Customs, Trade, Likin, Extra-territoriality, Revenue, Weights and Measures all paraded immediately before the eyes in five minutes. Mr. Morse's historical chapter on Opium is masterly in every sense, and, as regards the effects of the drug, of preternatural fairness. As he himself says, he simply gives the true facts, which are equally available to anti-opium cranks and Laodicean philosophers, for (like Confucius' rule as explained by Mark Twain) they "work both ways," and may be manipulated as Satan is reported to manipulate the Scriptures. In conclusion, we beg to recommend Mr. Morse's book strongly as the best and most level-headed production of its kind, and one that does both his judgment and his industry the highest possible credit.—X. Y. Z.

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LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON.

10. *The Encyclopedia of Islam: A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muham-*

*medan Peoples.* Prepared by a number of leading Orientalists under the supervision of DR. M. TH. HOUTSMA and DR. M. SELIGSOHN. Published under the patronage of the International Association of the Academies. Number 1. This work is the result of Conferences at the Congress of Orientalists and of the Association of the Academies of Sciences at Paris, Vienna, and Munich. It is announced to contain—(1) the name of every person, no matter in what way celebrated in the pre-Islamic times and during the thirteen centuries following them; (2) all nations where Islam is or has been the predominating religion, important towns, and places noted by the events of which they have been the theatre; (3) everything concerning the religion and the civilization of the different nations which profess Islamism.

Professor Houtsma, of Utrecht, is the chief editor, and Messrs. E. J. Brill, of Leyden, have been selected to execute the publication. Editions in English, French, and German will appear simultaneously. It is contemplated that the work will be completed in three thick volumes, each volume to consist of fifteen numbers of sixty-four pages each, the first of which appeared in April last. It will be a work of great usefulness, not only to Orientalists, but also to all students of history desiring information on the subject who may be resident or otherwise among Muhammedan populations.

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JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.

III. *Indian Jottings*, by EDWARD F. ELWIN. This book is written, not, says the author, as a missionary chronicle, nor as a manual of Hinduism, but to give people at home an idea of what goes on in and around Poona city from a missionary point of view, and it is pleasantly written. The writer tells us what he knows of the native Hindu (there are few Muhammedans in Poona, and those whom there are are not rich or influential) who inhabits the town—his dress,



his habits, manners, and customs. He is emphatically not enamoured with Hinduism, and his comments seem even to the ignorant a little unjust; but the whole book can be read with pleasure, and will bring to those readers who are at home the information about native life which he wishes to convey to them.—A. F. S.

MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK;  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW YORK.

12. *The Ancient History of China to the End of the Chou Dynasty*, by FRIEDRICH HIRTH, PH.D., Professor of Chinese, Columbia University. As might be expected from the reputation Dr. Hirth made for himself a generation ago by his book on "China and the Roman Orient," the present work is full of distinction and learning; moreover, opportunity has been taken, whilst treating in the main of that dry as dust subject ancient Chinese history, to introduce agreeable little literary episodes displaying the author's special erudition in the matter of the Mariner's Compass, Gunpowder, Bronzes, Jades, Ancient Inscriptions, Hunnic origins, Chinese Art, and so on. Coming as it does from America, the book naturally follows the American spelling, and consequently we find the words traveler, traveling, traveled, counselor, marvelous, worshiped, meager, labor, neighborhood, and offense, freely scattered about: this method of spelling may have its able defenders, if only on the ground that it gives the Eagle an opportunity to shriek on its own account, but it is none the less an irritant and an eyesore to the full-blooded Britisher. On the same grounds Australia might decide to write *ful, pul, bul, mul*; or Canada might strike out an independent line in *woud, coud, shoud*. South Africa and New Zealand would then not be long behind with *cof, tuf, enuf, do, or duf*; and possibly with *hel, smel, tel, and yel*. In a few cases Dr. Hirth appears as a German to mistake the meaning of some English words, which he uses in a way

that cannot exactly be put down to American "cussedness." For instance, "ascension to the throne" is not English (pp. 98, 221, 315), but "accession" is; only if the throne in question were a heavenly throne might a point perhaps be strained, for "ascension" is practically confined to heaven and the stars. Then, again, "baronetcy" (p. 192) for "barony"; "pigeon-holing," or *Taubenloch* (p. 155), for "dovetailing," or *Schwalbenschwanzverbindung*; a "society-girl" (p. 324) for a *demimondaine* (Heaven save the mark if the two words are synonymous in New York!): why not say a "Gibson girl"? Then, again (p. 269), "bastard" for *mestizo*, or "half-breed": two Turkish sisters married a Chinese ruler (see p. 220) and that ruler's adviser; if the adviser's son was a bastard, then the Chinese ruler's son was so too; but, in fact, neither was. These little matters in no way detract from the high merit due to Dr. Hirth for his excellent little book, but it is necessary to mention them in order to "protect" the English language from the inroads of excessive "free trade," whether it be American or German.

The general scheme of the learned professor's work is admirable. He wisely passes over the mythical periods very lightly, yet even here his views are eminently sound. There is no reason whatever to disbelieve the general tenour of ancient Chinese tradition, though specific dated history cannot be said to begin before 841 B.C. Nor will Dr. Hirth admit that there is the faintest documentary evidence, or even tradition, connecting the early Chinese with the Far West, Babylonia, the Tower of Babel, India, or Egypt. Starting from the beginning of the truly historical period, he shows us exactly how the ancient patriarchal and feudal system was just beginning to display signs of decay at the moment when the period of accurately dated history begins; how the nucleus of orthodox and cultured China even then consisted of a very small area on the right bank of the Yellow River, bounded on the south by the head waters of the great riverine systems of the

Hwai and the Han; how the various Tartar tribes to the north, north-east, and north-west contested possession of the left bank of the Yellow River with the outlying Chinese feudatories and colonists; how the various tribes to the south similarly contested possession of the territories irrigated by the numerous tributaries of the Hwai and the Han, down which, towards the Yang-tsz and the sea, the lines of orthodox extension and navigation travelled. In a word, Chinese civilization spread from a centre of flat, friable *loess* land in all four directions towards the mountains and the sea, always following the lines of least resistance, and always keeping, where possible, to the valleys of rivers. What is not explained, and what probably never will be explained, is how the first "cultural" elements got to this centre; whether they "grew," or whether they immigrated. This doubtful word "cultural" is a great favourite with Dr. Hirth, and he even applies it to such obviously physical developments as the substitution of horse-riding for chariot-driving in war.

To Professor Chavannes of Paris is, perhaps, owing the chief credit for having first started a keen general interest in ancient Chinese history, and accordingly we find that Dr. Hirth has laid his French colleague's masterly *Mémoires Historiques* under heavy contribution. When we say "general interest" we allude chiefly to the few *Fachmänner*, or specialists, of the various European nations; for it is much to be feared that the majority of lay outsiders are still as complacently indifferent to the siren charms of Asiatic history as are the Asiatics to the interesting stories of ancient European development. On both sides there is more smug and obstinate indifference than is becoming to modern students of humanity in its broadest sense; this uncompromising attitude recalls to mind the coarse laughter (*Gröber* rather than *grober Unfug*) that greeted a deputy in the Reichstag in March last when he ventured to remind German professors and philosophers that "after all, black men had immortal souls like ourselves." Our thanks are

due likewise to Dr. Hirth for his present effort to bring early Chinese civilization, which is really just as intellectually interesting as early European civilization, to the cognizance of the general public in reasonably accessible form. It is impossible, however, to give the slightest sketch of the details of the Far Eastern movement here; suffice it to say that the Professor of Columbia University has given us the pith of it in a fairly readable shape. Readers must consult his book for themselves, and learn its lessons.

Not that the learned German is entirely beyond specific criticism; in most cases his errors are manifestly owing to his having drawn his facts from Chavannes' translations instead of having inspired himself from the original Chinese sources direct. For instance, on pages 106, 183, he tells us most distinctly and emphatically that the founder of the Chou dynasty in 1122 B.C. appointed the son of the defunct Emperor of the conquered Shang dynasty as a vassal king in Corea, and he even goes so far as to distort in a parenthesis the perfectly correct statements of Dr. Legge, in order to support his own utterly mistaken view. What really happened was this: (1.) The Viscount Ki, a distant relation of the last Shang Emperor, was appointed by the first Chou Emperor as *non-vassal* King of Corea [but, as Chavannes has pointed out clearly, this particular sentence about Corea is a manifest interpolation made 1,000 years later]. (2.) The son of the last Shang Emperor was, as a mark of favour and commiseration, given a fief, and two of the Chou Emperor's own brothers were enfeoffed as his counsellors in towns very near to him; later on all three fiefholders rebelled, two of the three were executed, and the third lost his hereditary fief for a time. (3.) After this the elder, but less legitimate, brother of the last Shang Emperor, whose (the brother's) personal name was K'i, and whose title already was Viscount of Wei, was enfeoffed by the Chou Emperor in Sung (quite close to the above three extinct fiefs), and the surviving third prince, who had lost his fief, was re-enfeoffed in Ts'ai. Thus there were three

Shang personages: (a) Viscount K'i, the relative in Corea; (b) the son; and (c) the brother K'i, Viscount of Wei in Sung. But Dr. Hirth hopelessly mixes up the two *Wei* and the two *Ki*, *K'i*, and talks of the Shang "last scion, whom they placed in charge of the kingdom of Corea as a vassal state," every single word in this sentence being wrong, both in principle and in fact.

In another instance the King of Ch'u is distinctly stated (p. 322) to have moved his capital in 248 B.C. from near the present King-chou Fu to the present Soochow. This is a terrible blunder. In 278 the Ch'u capital was moved from King-chou Fu to Ch'ên in Ho Nan, and in 241 from Ch'in again to modern Shou-chow in An Hwei, both of them many hundred miles westwards from Soochow in Kiang Su. What really happened was that in 248 the King of Ch'u's vassal, who had been given the subordinate viceroyalty of Wu, removed his viceregal capital to the modern Soochow; this had nothing whatever to do with the Ch'u kingdom.

Dr. Hirth is undoubtedly well advised in discarding, in a book of scientific pretensions, Wade's Pekingese spelling so far as the confusing *ch* and *hs* initials are concerned; the only reasonable course is to adopt, as he does, the *k* and *ts*, the *h* and *s*, of other dialects; indeed, both he and Professor Chavannes have frequently pointed this out. But when he comes to tamper with "constitutional" vowels—as, for instance, when he writes *ch'ôn, jôn* for *ch'ên, jên*—we cannot go with him. Apart from the fact that Wade's system is well known, and on the whole judicious (except where it causes dialect confusion with initials), Germans are not blessed with a very good ear for sound; the Pekingese *wên* is pronounced exactly like the English word *one*, and *wôn* no more reproduces it than *böt* (the usual German pronunciation) represents the English conjunction *but*. A very distinguished German sinologue in China used always to say "Let us bray" when he took the English Church services; the smartest Berlin actors say "Ettison" when they present Addison on the stage, and few Germans



can pronounce correctly even the simple English word *hat*.

In philological matters Dr. Hirth is occasionally very original and successful; for instance, the great Hun or Turkish Khan *Mautun*, or *Meghder*, of 200 B.C. (these being both makeshift forms), is undoubtedly *Baghtur*, or *Baghatur*, and the learned author is entitled to our best congratulations, for the Chinese syllables will undoubtedly admit of this etymological metamorphosis. But sometimes, in his eagerness for a "scoop," he is tempted to tinker; thus, in order to connect the *King-lu* sacrificial knife of 50 B.C. with the modern Turkish *Kingrak*, he slyly introduces a final *k*, and calls it *King-luk*, which is not only unauthorized, but is contrary to the rhyme specifically given to the ancient word. Again, with the "K'üan Jung," or "Dog Tartars": on the one hand he makes *K'üan*, *K'ün*, or *Hün*, when used singly, etymologically the same as "Hun"; and on the other, *Jung*, *Hiung*, when used singly, etymologically the same as the selfsame "Hun." This blowing hot and cold will not do at all.

However, a truce to adverse criticism. It is not likely that ten persons in the world will be much the worse for the mistakes made, nor much the wiser for the corrections here offered. Chinese ancient history is unmistakably caviar to the general, and the general ought accordingly to be sufficiently grateful to the distinguished professor for the feast he has tried to offer them, even though they may not be prepared to digest it, or even to do more than fastidiously nibble at it.

E. H. PARKER.

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JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS; GLASGOW.

13. *Kelantan. A State of the Malay Peninsula.* A Handbook of Information, by W. A. GRAHAM (the first Resident, Commissioner, and Adviser). 1908. The author of this book modestly describes it as but a "booklet," but, nevertheless, it contains a vast amount of information that

has never before appeared in print, and which anyone interested in the Far East would do well to read.

The little State of Kelantan, and its neighbouring State of Tringanu, which adjoins it, have both been for a long time tributary to Siam, and it is now rumoured that both of these Malay States will very shortly be taken over under British protection in return for certain concessions made by England to the "Courts" at Bangkok, the chief city of Siam.

Mr. W. A. Graham, to whose pen we owe the work, is now the Resident Commissioner under Siam, and the adviser to H.H. the Rajah of the territory, and he has well timed the publication of the volume while negotiations are pending between the two Governments.

Kelantan was first prominently brought to our notice by Sir Frank Swettenham, in his able work entitled "*British Malaya*," and published in 1906. He refers to it as a sunny country on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, six degrees north of the Equator, and drained by considerable rivers, which, twelve miles from its mouth, has its chief town of 10,000 inhabitants. He further draws our attention to the early political condition of this and its neighbouring State of Tringanu, and makes the somewhat predictive suggestion that both States should be administered on the lines which have proved so successful in the Federated Malay States on the west coast of the Peninsula.

Life in Kelantan, according to Mr. Graham, is, considering all things, very bearable to the European resident, for the climate is mild and equable, and there is no oppressive night heat, as is often to be found in tropical countries. The natives themselves, he says, are gay and debonair, and amuse themselves in a way unknown in any other State in the Peninsula. They devote themselves to bull and buffalo fighting, and they set rams, cocks, and even fish against one another in combat, and lay large sums of money on the issue, but are never known to play at cards or gamble with dice.

The Rajah himself is chiefly addicted to bull-fighting, and gives the lead to his people in all manner of games and sports.

Mr. Graham's work gives a very full account and description of the people, their costumes, and weapons, and daily course of life in commerce and agriculture, and though they are in the matter of religion Mohammedans of the Shafi sect, the women are not "Gosha" or "Purda," as in India and elsewhere, but move about with perfect freedom, thus following the custom of the other races resident in the State.

The work is exceptionally well illustrated, containing no fewer than sixty prints taken from photographs on the spot, and these add considerably to the explanation of the text and the interest of the volume. There is, moreover, a fair map of the place, but we miss an index.

SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO.; LONDON. S. K. LAHIRI  
AND CO.; CALCUTTA.

14. *Ramtanu Lahiri: Brahman and Reformer.* A History of the Renaissance in Bengal, from the Bengali of PANDIT SIVANATH SASTRI, M.A. Edited by SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E., formerly principal of Krishnagar College, Bengal, and Fellow of the Calcutta University, etc. With twenty-nine illustrations. The editor, in his short preface, observes: "Until the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the vernacular literature of Bengal existed only in a more or less debased form. In its earlier phases of development it had struggled to revert to its original Sanskrit elements; in later days, under the influence of the Mohammedan conquest, it had become largely Persianized. The lifetime of Ramtanu Lahiri was synchronous with the renaissance of Bengali literature—the period of awakening in Bengal that saw also the birth and early growth of English education in the country, and of the various schools of reform in religion and morals that have so mightily

changed the whole aspect of Bengali life and thought. It was, therefore, fitting that one of the most important of the works that have as yet appeared in pure Bengali should have been a 'Life' of this great educationist and reformer, from the pen of Pandit Sivanáth Sástri, M.A., himself one of the most distinguished writers of modern Bengal." The eminent editor, in dealing with the translation of Pandit Sivanáth Sástri, has judged it best to present the work to the English reader very largely in its original state. He thinks that excessive alteration might degenerate into mutilation, might often obscure the sense of the original, and would certainly detract from the presentment of transparent sincerity and of deep love for the subject of the memoir, that constitutes one of the greatest charms of the Pandit's style in the original Bengali "Life." He has, therefore, contented himself with a careful verification of the literal accuracy of the English rendering, together with such minor alterations or deletions as seem to be absolutely required by the occasional divergence of Eastern and Western thought. The memoir is of the greatest interest and importance, and well illustrated by portraits of some of Ramtanu's special friends and contemporaries, and others. The author sums up the "Life" of this eminent man in the following beautiful expressions: "Thus closed this eventful life—a long life dedicated to the glory of its Maker, and to the service of the world at large. Ramtanu Lahiri has left an imperishable name in the annals of the world's moral heroes. His footsteps are worthy of being followed by all, and many a bruised heart will find a balm in the contemplation of his placid and resigned character. Even when removed beyond our ken, he tells us the blessedness of those who can trust in God, and tutor their souls to a perfect submission to His will. May his sons, and all others that were under his influence, with God's help ever follow his bright example! It was not his to achieve any uncommon distinction in the rich and rugged domains of learning. He had neither the opportunity nor the desire to take any

prominent part in the political arena. Wealth or power had no charms for him. But, far better than all this, he had true manliness, a bold heart to fight for truth, a determination to advance the cause of virtue, and courage to repress everything that was immoral. He was a giant in true godliness. He fulfilled his great mission; he fought the good fight, and is now in the enjoyment of his reward. May it be our lot to live and die like him, that so we may share with him that great reward in the eternal hereafter! Amen." The volume also contains appendices of much interest, giving notes of some pupils and friends, sketches of some leading men in Bengal, notes on Ramtanu's English friends, and a genealogical table.



## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, with an Appendix on the Philosophy of the Vedânta in its Relation to Occidental Metaphysics, by Dr. PAUL DEUSSEN, Professor at the University of Kiel. (Berlin : Karl Curtius, 1907.) The first of the treatises contained in this small volume appeared in the Indian *Antiquary*, 1902 ; the second is an address delivered before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1893. The first treatise is on the First Period : Philosophy of the Rigveda ; The Second Period : Philosophy of the Upanishads ; The Third Period : Postvedic Philosophy. The second treatise is on the Philosophy of the Vedânta in its Relations to Occidental Metaphysics, Theology, Cosmology, Psychology, and Eschatology, with a short Introduction, and an Index of Names and Subjects.

*The Indian Official List for 1908*, compiled from official records by direction of the Secretary of State for India in Council. (Harrison and Sons, Pall Mall, London, 1908.) An admirable compilation, giving information upon the administration, officials of various classes both in London and in India. The work is of extreme value to all who take an interest in Indian affairs in all its branches.

*The Romanes Lecture, 1907—Frontiers*, by the RIGHT HON. LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, D.C.L., etc., delivered at the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, November 2, 1907. (Clarendon Press, Oxford ; H. Frowde, Amen Corner, London, E.C.) An eloquent and highly interesting and useful address on a subject with which the author has had great practical experience in Asia, Africa, and South America.

*The Industrial Conference held at Surat, December, 1907*. Full text of papers read at, and submitted to it. (Madras : G. A. Natesan and Co.) A handy and useful report of the resolutions and addresses of the Conference, and of the papers read and submitted : The Scope and Method of an

Industrial Survey, The Coal-Mining of India, The Arts and Industries of Travancore, Agriculture, Development in Bombay, Lift Irrigation, Credit Societies and Industrial Banks, Commercial, Higher and Technical Education, Cotton Cultivation, Hand-Loom Industry, and other cognate topics.

*The Anglo-Russian Literary Society Proceedings*, February, March, and April, 1908. Besides other interesting matter, the present, No. 51, contains a very readable paper by the Rev. Adrian Fortescue, PH.D., D.D., on "The Historical Relations between Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy"—that is, the Roman Catholic and the Greek Churches.

*The Industrial Review*, published monthly by the Tokyo Industrial Association (Sharobazu Pond, Uyeno Park, Tokyo, Japan), vol. i., No. 2. A useful publication to those who have business and commercial relations with Japan.

*Buddhism*. An illustrated review, vol. ii., No. 2, March, 1908. (International Buddhist Society, Rangoon, Burma.) This well-printed and well-got-up publication of 350 pages contains interesting information, by able contributors, on the origin, progress, and position of Buddhism at the present time, with the view of promoting the new propaganda of the real principles and teachings of Buddha throughout the civilized world.

*The Gospel of Ramakrishna*. Authorized edition, published by the Vedanta Society, 135, West 80th Street, New York; London agents, Luzac and Co. This little volume is the authorized English edition of the Gospel of Ramakrishna, a sketch of which appeared in this Review by the late Dr. Tawney in January, 1896, under the title, "A Modern Hindu Saint." There is an excellent introduction by one of his enthusiastic disciples, Swami Abhedananda. The latter received what he has translated in the form of diary notes by a householder disciple, M. The editor has endeavoured in this translation to make every word of the author as literal, simple, and colloquial as possible.

*Wisdom of the East Series*. (John Murray, London.)

1. *Arabian Wisdom*. Selections and translations from the

Arabic, by JOHN WORTABET, M.D. 2. *Brahma Knowledge*. An outline of the philosophy of the Vedānta, as set forth by the Upanishads and by Śāṅkara, by L. D. BARNETT, M.A., LITT.D., Professor of Sanskrit, University College, London. 3. *The Persian Mystics—Jāmī*, by F. HADLAND DAVIS. These small volumes are well fitted to carry out the admirable object of the series, as "ambassadors of goodwill and understanding between the East and the West—the old world of thought and the new of action." The first gives the first chapter of the Koran and selections from other parts; the second (1) an account of the Vedānta, and (2) some texts of the Vedānta and a short bibliography; the third an interesting account of the life of Jāmī and his writings, also selections from Salāmān and Absāl, Lawā'ih, Yūsuf, and Zulaikha and Bahārīstān.

*A Primer of Persian*, containing selections for reading and composition, with the elements of Syntax, by G. S. A. RANKING, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford, University Lecturer in Persian. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907.) A handy and well-conceived little work compiled to provide the beginner with a varied selection of passages for reading, and also for translation from English into Persian. Each passage has its own vocabulary attached to it, the selection of which has been made to give a practical knowledge of the language of to-day in common use.

*An Elementary Handbook of the Siamese Language*, by B. O. CARTWRIGHT, B.A. (Luzac and Co., London.) The author has made a successful effort to set forth for the first time in English a method of acquiring a practical working knowledge of the Siamese language. Besides the ordinary classification of letters and words and tones in pronunciation peculiar to the language, there are numerous exercises and vocabularies of English-Siamese and Siamese-English most useful in acquiring a knowledge of the language of this interesting people. We hope the author will be encouraged to issue a second edition, as well as his contemplated Siamese-English Dictionary, which will contain upwards

of 12,000 words and derivatives in a compact and concise form.

*Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, April, 1908. (6, Hope Place, Liverpool.) This number completes the text of the first volume of the new series of this interesting society. The publication is of great importance in view of the action of European Governments, and especially that of Great Britain, in passing hasty laws about a people whose habits, history, and language are very little known, except those who have studied assiduously the subject. The editor says: "In consequence the present number of the *Journal* is devoted almost entirely to accounts of the social and moral condition of the gypsies now and in the past; to the defence of their right to life and air and change and sunshine; and to the discussion of attempts which have been made, by public bodies and private individuals, to entice or compel a race of tent-dwellers to adopt manners of life which science and experience alike prove to be less healthy than their own."

*Mediterranean Winter Resorts*. A complete and practical handbook to the principal health and pleasure resorts on the shores of the Mediterranean, with special articles on the principal invalid stations by resident English physicians, by EUSTACE REYNOLDS-BALL, F.R.G.S. With a map of the Mediterranean and several diagrams. Vol. II. North Africa and Mediterranean Islands. Sixth edition, revised, enlarged, and in part re-written. (London: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Ltd., Longacre, London, W.C., 1908.) A well-arranged, handy, and useful handbook, giving full particulars as to routes, hotels, charges, climate, and other valuable information for those in search of recreation and health. The handbook refers to Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, and the Mediterranean Islands, and appendices on pleasure courses, winter in the West Indies, and in India. There is a copious index.

*The Army and Navy Chronicle*. (West End Offices, 111, Jermyn Street, St. James's, London, S.W.) A monthly

publication giving full information from time to time of the British Army and Navy past and present. The illustrations are exceedingly beautiful and well executed. It is the only periodical of its kind that is so fully illustrated. The letterpress is everything that could be wished.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—C. B. Fry's *Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), February, March, and April, 1908 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and London);—*La Roseaie du Savoir Choix de Quatrains Mystiques Tirés des Meilleurs Auteurs Persans Traduits pour la Première Foix en Français*;—*La Roseaie du Savoir, Golzâr-é Ma'réfet, Texte Persan*, publié par Hocëyne-Azad;—*Librairie et Imprimerie ci-devant* (E. J.



Brill, Leid; E. Guilmoto, Libraire, 6, Rue de Mézières, Paris); *Wāridāt-ul-Habīb Li Tanwīr-il-Labīb* (The Revelations of Habib for the Enlightenment of the Wise), by Hassan Cheopy Hassib (London: Luzac and Co., 1907);—*Documents Inédits pour Servir à L'Histoire du Christianisme en Orient* (xvi.-xix. Siècle), publiés par le Père Antoine Rabbath (London: Luzac and Co.);—*Socialisme Chinois: Le Philosophe Meh-ti et l'idée de Solidarité*, par Alexandra David (London: Luzac and Co.).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *The Irshād Al-Arīb Ilā Ma'Rifat Al-Adīb*; or, *Dictionary of Learned Men of Yāqūt*, edited by D. S. Margoliouth, D.LITT., and printed for the trustees of "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," vol. i.;—*The Pearl Strings: A History of the Resāliyy Dynasty of Yemen*, by 'Aliyyu'l-Hasan 'El-Khazrejiyy, translation and text, with annotations and index, by the late Sir J. W. Redhouse, LITT.D. (Camb.), edited by E. G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson, and A. Rogers, and printed for the trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," vol. ii. (London: Luzac and Co.; Leyden: E. J. Brill);—*The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai: Dubash to Joseph François Dupleix*, vol. ii. (Madras: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press);—*The English Factories in India, 1622-1623*, a calendar of documents in the India Office and British Museum, by William Foster (Oxford: Clarendon Press);—*The Pulse of Asia*, a journey in Central Asia illustrating the geographical basis of history, by Ellsworth Huntington (London: A. Constable and Co., Limited);—*A Literary History of the Arabs*, by R. A. Nicholson, M.A. (London: T. Fisher Unwin);—*The Truce in the East and its Aftermath*, being a sequel to "The Re-shaping of the Far East," by B. L. Putnam Weale (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited);—*Plagues and Pleasures of Life in Bengal*, by Lieut.-Colonel D. D. Cunningham (London: John Murray);—*The Story of the Guides*, by Colonel G. Young-husband, C.B. (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited);—

*The Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. iv., parts ii. and iii. (Bangkok, 1907; issued to members of the society. April and March, 1908);—*Glimpses of the Ages*, or the "Superior" and "Inferior" Races so-called, discussed in the light of Science and History, by Theophilus E. Samuel Scholes, M.D., etc., vol. ii. (London: John Long, 1908).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

**INDIA: GENERAL.**—After negotiations and preparations extending over several years, the Indian Institute of Science, Bombay, is about to come into existence. Lord Minto, a patron, and a provisional Committee appointed by him, will conduct its affairs until the properties with which the Institute is endowed can be vested in the constituted authorities. The Committee has met, and the construction of the Institute buildings is to be commenced at once. The Institute owes its inception to the munificence of the late Mr. Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata, a Parsee merchant and mill-owner of Bombay, who left properties calculated to realize £8,333 annually, and large sums have been given by other donors. The Institute will, it is hoped, be a great factor in the future development of the industries of India. Sir Cowasjee Jehanghir, a Parsee merchant of Bombay, has given four lacs of rupees (£26,666) for the promotion of this object.

The negotiations for a Treaty with Tibet were concluded at Calcutta on April 16. Under this Treaty it is intended to maintain the telegraph line through the Chumbi Valley to Gyantse. The Tibetan representatives took back with them machinery for printing and weaving, and implements for repairing clocks and watches, with which they hope to start industries in their own country.

At Muzaffarpur, in the first week in May, the wife and daughter of Mr. Kennedy, a barrister, were killed by a bomb apparently thrown at their carriage, but believed to have been directed against others. One of the men concerned was tried and executed, the other committed suicide. In consequence, the police searched many houses in that city, and discovered large quantities of explosives and anarchist literature. Thirty-two persons were arrested, and these proceedings have proved the existence of a revolutionary

plot on a vast scale, and a systematically organized "college" for instruction in the manufacture of bombs. A Bengali was arrested at Parbatipur with bombs in his possession. The thirty-two men were put on their trial at Calcutta. Among some of the articles seized was a pocket-book containing details of the process of bomb-making. On going to press, the trial of these persons is still pending.

Mr. Edward Norman Baker, C.S.I., has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in succession to Sir Andrew Fraser, K.C.S.I., whose period of office expires in November next.

The Annual Budget Statement of the Government of India was presented on March 20 in Calcutta. The accounts of 1906-7 closed with a surplus of £1,589,300, or £263,200 in excess of the revised estimate for March, 1907. The revised estimate for 1907-8 reduces the expected surplus to £235,700. The revenue for 1908-9 is estimated at £73,438,900, and the expenditure at £72,867,400, showing a surplus of £571,500. The total estimated capital expenditure for the next financial year is £12,157,600, including £1,000,000 for irrigation works, and £10,000,000 for State and other railways.

The Indian Government intends raising a loan of three crores of rupees (£2,000,000) for railway and irrigation purposes during the current year.

According to statistics from a Blue Book issued by the India Office, the trade of British India since 1902 has made very great progress, and during the year 1906-7, her seaborne trade amounted to £229,476,390, compared with £214,046,921; and the land frontier trade £11,787,903, against £11,170,125 in the previous year. In the year 1902-3 the seaborne trade was £166,834,837, and the land frontier trade £8,451,247.

A riot occurred in Tinneveli on March 13. The mob burned the municipal offices, attacked the post office, looted the bazaars, raided the police station, and burned records preserved there. The district Judge ordered the police to

fire upon the rioters, and four persons were killed before the mob could be quieted.

Nearly all the departmental signallers in India went out on strike on April 10, and postal employes were put into their places. It ended on April 20, all resuming work.

Mr. Charles Stewart Bayley, Resident at Hyderabad, officiates as Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, while Sir Lancelot Hare takes six months leave.

The Rev. Edwin James Palmer, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford, has been appointed Bishop of Bombay.

Mr. Basil Scott has been appointed Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay, in the place of Sir Lawrence Hugh Jenkins, K.T., K.C.I.E., who has retired.

Mr. H. D. Griffin, I.C.S., has been appointed Judge of the High Court of Judicature for North-Western Provinces of India, in the place of Sir W. Burkitt, retired.

INDIA : NATIVE.—During the recent rising on the Frontier, fifteen Native States made the offers of service of troops.

The Prime Minister of Nepaul is, at the time of going to press, on an official visit in England. Also Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Kooch Behar, and the Nawab of Janjira.

The Nizam of Hyderabad has contributed one lac of rupees to the Indian Charitable Relief Fund.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—During the last quarter tribal gatherings assembled on the Mohmand Border, owing to the exhortations of the Mullahs. Our troops were consequently reinforced at the advance posts, giving a force of all arms capable of acting promptly at any threatened point. The origin of this rising among the Mohmands is supposed to be that, while the expedition against the Zakka Khels was in progress, the Mullahs induced the Mohmands to raise a force to help their fellow tribesmen. The force arrived too late, however, and the Mohmands, who were in a highly excited state, began a series of raids on the Peshawar Border, looting



houses and carrying off Hindus, who were subsequently rescued by the Malik, Ghulam Khan of Pandiala. This caused the Mullahs to raise a lashkar to punish Ghulam. Certain of the Mullahs crossed the Kabul river at Lalpura. Finally, 7,000 men reached the border twenty miles from Peshawar before the Government took action. These numbers increased to many more thousands. A punitive expedition was accordingly sent out under General Willcocks, and after a good many engagements, in which casualties occurred on both sides, the Mohmands were punished and peace restored.

TIBET.—Cheng, the Chinese Commissioner, who signed the Tibetan Treaty, made a stipulation that an escort of fifty soldiers of the Indian Army should remain at Gyantse, to protect the trade agents' office for a period of two years, on the expiration of which they will be withdrawn, and the Chinese Government will take up the duty of protecting the agency and the line communications between Gyantse and Yatung.

PERSIA.—Ihtisham-es-Sultanah, President of the Mejliss, resigned on March 29, and was succeeded by Mukhbir-el-Mulk by sixty votes to forty-one. The Cabinet resigned on April 5. Mukhbir-el-Mulk having declined the Presidency of the Parliament, Mumtaz-ed-Dowleh was elected in his place. Another Cabinet was formed under Nizam-es-Sultanah, and this also resigned on May 2nd on account of failure to raise funds; but the Shah, on the recommendation of Parliament, reappointed this Cabinet. On May 16 Nizam-es-Sultanah, the Premier and Minister of the Interior, and the Minister of Justice resigned. In consequence the following changes were made in the Cabinet: Sani-ed-Dowleh became Premier, but retained the Ministry of Finance; Sultan Ali Khan, who held the post of Minister of the Court, was appointed Minister of the Interior, and Muaven-ed-Dowleh Minister of Justice. This Cabinet also retired later, and another was constructed with Mushir-es-Sultanah as Premier and Minister of the Interior.

News reached Teheran from Azerbaijan on April 23

stating that the Kurds round Urumiah were in rebellion, and had pillaged thirty-six villages and killed 2,000 of the inhabitants, and cut the telegraph wires and communications with Tabriz.

PERSIAN GULF.—On April 20, while the boats from H.M.S. *Prosperine* were searching two dhows suspected of carrying arms, which were at anchor close to the shore near Banji, north of Jask, heavy rifle fire was opened upon them by armed gun-runners. The boats returned safely to the ship, but one seaman was killed, and one so severely wounded that he subsequently died. A dhow was captured, which seems to have had a salutary effect, for since there has been no further gun-running.

TURKEY IN ASIA: YEMEN.—The situation in Yemen is again very unsatisfactory. In spite of the arrival of Turkish reinforcements, the Imam Yahya continues to show great activity in raiding Turkish districts and collecting provisions and adherents for an offensive campaign. The greater part of the province is reported to be in a state of open or smothered rebellion, and it is highly significant that the Sunni population of the districts of Daiz and Zabid—which never previously evinced any sympathy with the Imam and his heretical "Zaidi" followers—should have taken up arms against the Government. Several indecisive engagements between the rebels and the Imperial troops are reported, and the communications between Hodeida and Sanaa have been threatened by the rebels, while those between Zabid and Hodeida have been cut. The important coffee-growing district of Taiz is the scene of constant disturbances.

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.—Mr. Scott Moncrieff was murdered by Abd-el-Kader Mahomed Imam Habuba, leader of the rebellion in the Blue Nile Province, who was tried and found guilty; he was also found guilty of waging war against the Government. He was sentenced to death and to the forfeiture of his property, and was executed at Hillet Mustappa, the market village of his tribe, the Halowin.

According to the report of the Suez Canal Company, increased traffic has been maintained during the year, due solely to general activity of trade. The gross receipts for 1907 amounted to £4,804,740, or £325,176 more than in the previous year. The total expenditure was £1,745,700, or £54,521 more than in 1906.

The foundations of the Esneh barrage on the Nile have been completed, and it is expected that the entire structure will be finished by the end of February, 1909, a year earlier than was originally assumed.

CHINA.—Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, left Peking on April 22, and arrived in London on June 11.

W. R. M. Davies (Attorney-General) is to be His Majesty's Counsel for the Colony of Hong Kong, and Ho Kai, C.M.G. (Barrister-at-Law), to be an unofficial Member of the Legislative Council of the Colony.

In consequence of floods which occurred in April at Han-Kow, 2,000 persons were drowned, and 700 junks sunk or were wrecked.

KOREA.—Numerous engagements have lately taken place between Japanese and Korean troops and insurgents. Of the latter 372 were killed and 55 taken prisoners. Between June 3 and 7 the Government troops had 26 engagements, in which 113 insurgents were killed and 26 made prisoners. The Japanese casualties are not given.

Prince Ito, the Japanese Resident-General, attended the celebrations on the occasion of the anniversary of the opening of Chemulpo to foreign trade. In a speech the Prince dwelt upon Japan's peaceful development of Korea, the object of which, he said, was that the Koreans should have their independence in the future and become the allies of Japan. The speech was received with enthusiasm by the Koreans and the Japanese.

AFRICA: CAPE COLONY.—The Inter-Colonial Conference assembled in Pretoria on May 4. The delegates adopted the principle of closer union, and will recommend their

Parliaments to appoint delegates to a National Convention. Owing to the practical impossibility under the existing conditions of reconciling inter-colonial financial and economic differences, and the fact that, if closer union is satisfactorily settled, any alterations in the customs and railways must be temporary and provisional. The Conference, on Mr. Merri-man's motion, resolved that it would be inexpedient to disturb the present fiscal arrangements. The existing Customs Convention will continue to be in force until June 30, 1909, subject to minor modifications, and thereafter for periods of twelve months, subject to three months' notice.

The war memorial to the regiments, which were raised in the Cape peninsula to serve in the South African war, was unveiled on March 14 in Cape Town. The Governor, Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, delivered a speech, in which he urged that South Africans, whatever may be their race, might well unite in building up, under the British flag, a great dominion based on community of interest, mutual respect, and forbearance.

The elections to the Cape House of Assembly resulted in a large majority for the Ministerialists.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The new Education Act was gazetted on April 18. It establishes an educational system similar to that which obtained under the old Free State, and provides for a Council of Education, Government aid for private schools, compulsory education, and equal treatment for the Dutch and English languages.

The Bloemfontein-Kimberley Railway was opened on April 8 by Sir G. Adams, Governor of Orange River Colony, who said the Government had constructed the line as far as possible with white labour, nevertheless the line was costing £10,000 less than was estimated.

EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA.—A severe famine prevails in the Usoga Province of Uganda, thousands of deaths having occurred. The Government is doing its best, and is feeding 50,000 natives, but it is feeling the heavy strain upon its resources. The crops are a complete failure, and

there is a prospect of much suffering during the next few months.

**WEST COAST OF AFRICA AND NIGERIA.**—The work of fixing the boundary along the thousand miles of Anglo-French frontier between the Niger and Lake Chad, on the lines of the agreement entered into by the British and French Governments, and ratified in 1906, has been completed after eighteen months' work. A complete line of beacons has now been established along the entire frontier, a total number of 148 having been erected, each numbered and marked by tricolour tablets. Some of these beacons consist of stone pyramids 8 feet high, and in other cases where stone was not available, telegraph poles have served to mark the frontier. Demarcation began at Ilo, on the Niger, in December, 1906.

**SOMALILAND.**—A Convention, dated May 16, has been signed by Emperor Menelek and the Italian representative at Addis Abeba defining the limits of Italian Somaliland and Dancalia. The boundary of Somaliland starts from Dolo, at the point where the Rivers Dan and Ganana meet, about 500 kilometres from the mouth of the River Jub, and then, keeping north of the fourth parallel, goes straight to Webbi Shebeyli, whence it is carried on along the line of 1896, parallel to the coast, until it reaches the British Somaliland boundary. The boundary of the Dancalia is fixed at sixty kilometres from the coast line. The agreement contains clauses regulating the dependence of the different tribes which are on the boundary or on either side of it. The compensation to be paid to Abyssinia is fixed at £120,000. The Convention is subject to the consent of the Italian Parliament and the King. The effect of the Convention is to leave not only Lugh in Italian possession, but also the important caravan centre at the meeting of the rivers Dan and Ganana.

**NYASSALAND.**—The first passenger train on the Shire Highlands Railway arrived at Blantyre on March 31. The railway is 100 miles in length, and connects Port Herald



and Chiromo, on the Shiré, with Blantyre, the capital of the Protectorate.

AUSTRALIA: COMMONWEALTH.—Lord Dudley has been appointed Governor-General of Australia in succession to Lord Northcote.

The survey for the proposed Trans-Continental Railway from Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie has begun from each end.

VICTORIA.—Sir T. Gibson-Carmichael has been appointed Governor of Victoria in succession to Major-General Sir R. Talbot, who had resigned.

NEW ZEALAND.—The revenue for the past financial year ending March 31 was £9,065,000, the highest on record, and an increase of £656,870 over that of last year. The increase in expenditure was £438,039.

CANADA.—Two Anglo-American Treaties concerning the relations of Canada and the United States, embodying the agreement with regard to inland fisheries and providing for the settlement of boundary difficulties, were signed on April 11 at Washington, and ratified by the Senate on May 4. The line of frontier will be settled by a joint Commission.

Active preparations have been in progress for the celebration of the Tercentenary of the Quebec Battlefield, and the Prince of Wales will be conveyed to Canada by the cruiser *Indomitable*, with a suitable escort. It is reported that his stay may be prolonged to one week. Large sums of money have been received towards the purchase of the battlefields.

It has been proposed to establish a penny post between the United Kingdom and America and also France, to come into force on October 1 next. Also to those places in Morocco where the British Post Office have agents. The latter began this month.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter:

Sir Auckland Colvin, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E.;—Rev. John Annand Sellar, M.A., Chaplain Bombay Ecclesiastical Establishment;—Peter Henry

Cresswell, late of P.W.D. of India;—Sir John Eliot, K.C.I.E., F.R.S.;—Percy Taylor Bell, late of the Indian Army;—George Thornhill, C.S.I., late of the Madras Civil Service;—General Sir Cecil James East, R.C.B. (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, Lushai expedition, Zulu war 1879, Burmese war 1886);—Colonel H. J. W. Brownrigg, R.E.;—William Theobald, late Deputy-Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India;—William Vansittart Taylor, I.C.S., late of the Executive Department at Dacca, Mymensingh, Behar, and other Provinces;—James Francis Hewitt, late Bengal Civil Service;—William Pelham Richardson, M.I.C.E., Irrigation Department North-West Provinces, India;—Colonel H. G. Paske (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel J. T. Ready (Afghan war 1880);—Colonel R. E. Roe (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Colonel J. H. Moore (Ashantee war 1873-74, Afghan war 1878-79);—Denzil Roberts Onslow;—Dr. Kielhorn, C.I.E., Ph.D., hon. D.LITT. Oxford, LL.D. Edinburgh and Glasgow (for sixteen years Professor of Oriental Languages at the Deccan College);—Colonel C. E. Maude (South Mahratta campaign 1844-45, North-West Frontier campaign 1846, Punjab campaign 1848-49, Persian expedition 1856-57, Bheel campaign 1857-58);—Colonel William Henry Blowers, late Bombay Staff Corps;—John Watts Brassington, M.I.C.E., late P.W.D., India;—Edward Gay, formerly Comptroller and Auditor-General in India;—Deputy Surgeon-General James Browne, M.D., Bengal Medical Service (retired);—General Henry William Blake (entered Madras Infantry 1837, Coorg campaign in command of Burma district in 1871-72;—Lieutenant-General Sir D. C. Drury-Lowe, G.C.B. (Crimea 1854, Indian Mutiny 1858-59, Zulu war 1879, Boer war 1881, Egyptian war 1882);—Major-General David Briggs (served on the Bengal establishment of the Indian Army from 1842-74, and saw much active service during the Mutiny);—Henry Francis Blair, Colonel Royal (late Bengal) Engineers, retired (Indian Mutiny campaign, North-West Frontier campaign of 1863, Afghan war 1878-80);—Lieutenant-General Albert Henry Bamfield (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Boree Afridis campaign 1853, Indian Mutiny campaign);—Lieutenant-Colonel F. S. Peck, of the Indian Medical Service (Burmese expedition 1886-87);—Rai Bahadur L. Daulat Ram, C.I.E., late Superintendent of Post Offices and Mails, Kalka-Simla line;—Major George Bloomfield Gough, 20th Punjab Infantry;—Sir Robert Graeme Horn-Elphinstone-Dalrymple, Bart., Colonel Indian Staff Corps;—Colonel Robert Durie Griffin, late Indian Army;—Colonel A. T. Rolland, Indian Army;—Colonel Lewis Mansergh Buchanan, C.B. (Crimea 1856, Indian Mutiny campaign, Central India Oude campaign 1859);—Horace Abel Cockerell, C.S.I.;—Major-General John Stratford Collins, C.B. (Burmese expedition 1885-89, North-West Frontier operations 1897-98, Tirah expedition 1897-98);—Major W. H. Trethewy (Burmese expedition 1886);—Lieutenant G. D. Martin, died of wounds received in the Mohmand Expedition, served also in the Zakka Khel expedition;—Richard Herbert Greaves, I.C.S.;—Captain J. C. Dewar (Zulu war 1879);—Major-General George Noble Cave, Indian Staff Corps;—Brigade-Surgeon William Pierce Kelly, F.R.C.S. (Indian Mutiny campaign 1858, North Canara Field Forces);—Major H. Coape-Smith (Hazara expedition 1891, Isazai expedition 1892,

British Central Africa 1895);—Lieutenant-Colonel C. Tritton (Burmese expedition 1887-89); Major C. E. Hill, R.A. (Burmese expedition 1887-88, Hazara expedition 1901, Isazai expedition 1902, South Africa 1889-1902);—Sir Alexander Condie Stephen, Groom in Waiting to the King;—W. Robert Bright, C.S.I.;—Hon. Mr. Justice Hungerford Tudor Boddam, Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Madras;—Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Croft Ryder, late Army Pay Department, and Bombay Services;—George Sackville Sutherland, Brigade-Surgeon, Bengal Medical Service;—Lieutenant G. H. Sorle, 21st Cavalry, killed in the Mohmand expedition at Umra Killi;—Lieutenant G. F. Archibald, 82nd Punjabis, killed in the Mohmand expedition at Umra Killi;—Lieutenant L. S. Wells, Queen's Own Corps of Guides, died of cholera in the Mohmand expedition;—Colonel Sir Alfred Mordaunt Egerton, K.C.V.O., C.B., served with 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade in India from 1863-66, and in Canada 1866-68; Lieutenant Frederic Russell Borff Hubert Claude Daniel, Superintendent of Police in India;—William Astell St. Quintin, late of India Office;—Rupert Temple Fanshawe, District Superintendent of Police, Raipur, Central Provinces, India;—Lieutenant Walter Young, killed in the Mohmand expedition;—Richard Greeven, I.C.S.;—Lieutenant Balfour Bryant: in 1907 he was appointed as an extra Aide-de-camp to the Governor of Bombay, Sir George Sydenham Clarke;—Charles Henry Reynolds, C.I.E., for some time head of the Indian Telegraph Department;—Deputy Surgeon-General H. R. L. Veale, D.D. (Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58, Egyptian expedition 1882);—Brigade-Surgeon G. S. Sutherland (Crimea, Lucknow, Indian Mutiny);—Major Neil Campbell Maclachlan (Nile expedition 1898);—Major-General W. O. Swanston, late Indian Army (Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58);—Deputy Surgeon-General Sir James Arthur Hanbury, K.C.B., F.R.C.S. (Afghan campaign of 1878-79 and 1879-80).

*June 15, 1908.*

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OCTOBER, 1908.

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THE MYSORE DASARA EXHIBITION.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE Maharaja of Mysore, the worthy son of an illustrious father, is evidently resolved that his State—known as the “Model State,” or the “Pioneer State,” of Feudatory India—shall be worthy of its reputation. Mysore was not the only State that conceived the happy idea of celebrating the visit of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1906 by a national “Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition,” that might show their Royal Highnesses, and the whole civilized world that was looking on, how great was the variety of the provincial resources, and how beautiful the products of its art. But the Maharaja, ably seconded by his Dewan, Mr. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., determined to improve on this happy idea, by establishing an annual exhibition of this kind, that will serve a threefold purpose—it will show the outside world what Mysore can do, it will put within the reach of Mysoreans the best methods that are current elsewhere, and it will mark the progress that is being achieved in Mysore from year to year. At this year's Dasara Festival, and about the time when this *Review* will reach India, there will be opened the second annual exhibition of Mysore Industry, Agriculture, and Art—the first, which took place last year, was somewhat in the nature of a “preliminary canter.” All our readers will join with us in hoping, with full confidence, that these will be the beginning of a long series of instructive and successful shows.

The Mysore Dasara Exhibition happens at an opportune moment. The teachings of the late Mr. Justice Ranade from the theoretical point of view, and those of the ever-to-be-lamented Mr. Tata from the practical side, are just now beginning to bring forth abundant fruit. Not only the Princes and the nobles of India, but also the educated middle classes, are recognizing the truth of those teachings more and more every year. They feel that the development in India of the modern spirit of co-operative industrialism—which is fostered by periodical exhibitions—offers the best hope for the future of the country. At the opening of the Benares Industrial Exhibition of 1905—of which the patron was His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, and the motive spirit was Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E.—the chairman of the Reception Committee, the Hon. Munshi Madho Lal, aptly spoke of it as, “this latest child of the Indian National Congress.” He applauded the national services, in this direction, of such representative men as Mr. Vithaldas Damodhar Thackersey of Bombay, of Mr. D. V. Hanumantha Row of Madras, and of Mr. R. C. Dutt and the Rao Bahadur Raoji Bhai Patel of Baroda; and took credit for the Benares Exhibition that it was distinctly a middle-class enterprise, although patronized by so great a Prince as the Maharaja of Benares.

It is now more than half a century since the first Indian “Exhibition of Native Industry” was held at Madras in the year 1853. The fertile genius and fiery energy of Sir Richard Temple made a great success of the Nagpur Exhibition that followed a few years later, and since then there have been many exhibitions of sorts held in the various cities of British India. But it has only been within comparatively recent years that the Princes and peoples of India have taken to organizing for themselves these valuable enterprises on the best European models. The last exhibition at Madras derived much added prestige from the active and personal support accorded to it by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, whose address on that



occasion showed the intimate knowledge His Highness possesses of the scope and use of an industrial exhibition, and the interest he takes in the general subject. It is, therefore, fitting that when a great effort is being made by the Maharaja himself, by the Dewan, Mr. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., and by the Government and people of Mysore, to organize an exhibition within the Mysore territories that shall be worthy of that great State and of India generally, warm sympathy and hearty co-operation should be offered them, not only by the Madras Presidency, but by the whole of British India, and by the British Empire at large. The *Times*, and *Standard*, and other great English journals, have long ago called public attention to the coming event, as testifying to the enlightened care of the Maharaja and the Government of Mysore for the interests and welfare of His Highness's subjects.

This is the true *Swadeshi*, to which His Excellency the Viceroy gave such hearty support in his Budget speech, in the following emphatic words:

"I say to the supporters of *Swadeshi*, that if *Swadeshi* means an earnest endeavour to develop home industries in an open market for the employment and for the supply of the people of India, no one will be more heartily with them than myself."

It was this benevolent and patriotic spirit in the Maharaja of Mysore that attracted the warm admiration of His Excellency the present Governor of Madras when he paid a State visit to Mysore a short time ago. Speaking at Vellore after the conclusion of that visit, Sir Arthur Lawley paid a very striking tribute to the great qualities of his late host in these words, as reported in the *Madras Mail* of the following day:

"I have had during the past week an opportunity of tasting something of the qualities of Indian hospitality. During that time I have been the guest of a neighbouring State. I could not fail to be struck by

the princely hospitality of its ruler, but what I valued still more highly was the daily—nay, almost hourly—evidence of his own personal forethought and his own personal care, devoted to make my visit to him as enjoyable as possible. Animated by the same spirit as His Highness, the Durbar and the officials of the State spared no pains to make me welcome, and the people of the country in every village and in every hamlet which I passed did not fail to show a distinct mark of courtesy and consideration to me as I passed. I have come from there with my heart warmed by the cordiality of the welcome which I received, and I have come also with my intelligence, I hope, quickened by some insight into the methods of an enlightened and progressive administration; with a deep sense of admiration for the ability and the uprightness of the ruler of that country, and especially for the keen sympathy which he evinces for his people and his desire to earn their affection and respect. In these latter respects, gentlemen, I hope that I may do something to emulate his example; that I, too, may show myself capable of sympathy with the people over whom I am called upon to rule, and that I may earn in time something of their respect and of their affection."

These words of His Excellency the Governor of Madras aptly illustrate the cordial relations that happily subsist between the heads of the Governments of Madras and Mysore, and it is very certain that the coming Dasara Exhibition will benefit manufacturers and producers in British India equally with those of the Mysore State; though the Mysoreans themselves will naturally, and properly, benefit most easily from the lectures on industrial technique that are to be a feature of the exhibition.

Mr. Madhava Rao, in his address to the Representative Assembly of 1906, spoke in hearty terms of appreciation of the warm interest in the arts and industries of Mysore that had been evinced that year by their Royal Highnesses the

Prince and Princess of Wales when they were the honoured guests of the Maharaja of Mysore. Mr. Madhava Rao himself has worthily maintained and improved upon the high traditions of his distinguished predecessors, the Dewans Sir Sheshadri Iyer and Sir P. N. Krishna Murti, in giving effect to the policy of the Maharaja in the encouragement of Mysorean arts and industries ; and he was therefore able to speak with more authority upon the advantages that had accrued from the last Mysore exhibition, that of January, 1906, which was a special feature of the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales. He said :

"To afford their Royal Highnesses an opportunity to see the products of the arts and industries of Mysore and its resources, an Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition was held at Mysore. Their Royal Highnesses paid a visit to the exhibition, and evinced much interest in the exhibits. Further proof of His Royal Highness's interest in the arts and industries of the country, and of his solicitude for the welfare of the artisan, was afforded in the speech he made on the occasion of his laying the foundation-stone of the Chamarajendra Technical Institute at Mysore, when he expressed his 'delight in taking part in a ceremony which might lead to the amelioration of one of the most deserving and most important classes of the Indian people.'"

It was doubtless the great success that attended this Mysore Exhibition of 1906, and the Madras Exhibition, in which the Maharaja took such a prominent and benevolent part, that inspired the idea of the coming Dasara Exhibition, which will in future years be one of the leading features of the Mysore Dasara festivities.

Many months ago the prospectus of the exhibition, as worked out by the Dewan and sanctioned by the Maharaja himself, was issued by the Government of Mysore. Its

provisions were explained in the *Englishman*, the *Madras Mail*, the *Madras Times*, the *Times of India*, and the other leading Indian journals, and were copied therefrom in the English Press, so that I need not refer to them here in detail. Suffice it to say that a vigorous attempt is to be made to profit by, and improve upon, all that was best and most useful in former Indian exhibitions, and also to strike out a new line by directing special attention to the humbler industries of the country.

For instance, it had been remarked that, in the great exhibition of Madras, and in many other similar shows, there was a splendid display of the products of the fine-art handicrafts of the country that appeal to the æsthetic tastes of wealthy purchasers, but very scanty illustration of the merely utilitarian products that are bought by the masses, in which there is often wide scope for improved materials and more scientific and cheaper methods of production. One of the most intelligent of the weekly reviews, written by Indians for Indians, had thus criticized, in this sense, the exhibits that were so much admired in the Madras Exhibition :

“Under the spacious pavilion in the Cathedral House are seen costly metal works, ivory and wood carvings, sandal cabinets with carved panels, beautiful carpets and apparel, embroideries and kincob works. There is seen an abundance of unwrought wealth in stone, fibre, mica, silk, and in a variety of forest produce. But of articles of utility, consumed by the masses, few, except textile fabrics and some quantity of pottery, are exhibited. The *cumbies* of Mysore and Bellary, the checks, the cotton goods of Buckingham mills, the silk goods of Moorshidabad, the woollen fabrics of the Punjab Trading Company, the furniture and locks, and a few articles of machinery, are about all the articles of utility, as distinguished from those of art, that are displayed at the Exhibition.”

A show of high-art products is in itself very useful, and especially valuable for creating a market for these products in Europe and America. The new palace of the Maharaja, which is approaching completion in Mysore City, is in itself an instance of this. It is being built, in the Hindu-Saracenic style of architecture, on the site and very much on the model of the historic building that was destroyed by fire about eleven years ago, and it will be a glorious example of the wonderful beauty of true Indian art-work. The carved sandal-wood of Mysore is famous throughout the world, as also the inlaying of black-wood with ivory and silver. The new palace, which is of noble elevation, is 220 feet long by 180 feet, and is full of the finest specimens of the most elaborate carving in marble, porphyry, granite, and sandal-wood, with marvellous open-work lattices of soap-stone and doors of black-wood richly inlaid.

Now, it is only right that an industrial exhibition should adequately illustrate the capabilities of Mysore artists in such beautiful works as these ; but it is equally important, for the welfare of the country, to give these shows a distinctly educational mission, and for this purpose nothing could be better than the regulations laid down by the Exhibition Committee, with the authority of the Mysore Government. They stated in their prospectus that it was mainly their aim "to bring together articles, machinery, and processes, the use of which it is desirable to bring to the notice of the ryot, the artisan, and the manufacturer, by actual demonstration." To effect this purpose special facilities are offered by the Mysore Committee to those who are able and willing to give practical illustrations of any process of manufacture, or the working of any particular implements or machinery. Arrangements have been made for lectures, both in English and in the vernaculars, on all subjects likely to interest and instruct those who are engaged in the practical work of manufacture or agriculture.

Observing that this is an age of prize competitions, the committee have arranged for varied and comprehensive



competitions in the practical work of weaving, ploughing, and other widely-practised occupations. And with reference to these competitions, and the English and vernacular practical lectures, the *Wednesday Review* of Trichinopoly has some very sensible remarks. After pointing out that these features will greatly increase the educational value of the exhibition, the *Review* adds :

“ The really instructive portion of the exhibition is not the array of exhibits which delight the eyes of the sightseer, but the practical demonstration of improved processes, from which the ryot and the artisan can learn how they can adopt new methods with advantage. We trust that the English and vernacular lectures which the committee propose to arrange will be adapted to the special requirements of the classes of people who are likely to profit by the exhibition, and not be of mere academic interest, as they sometimes are. We have no doubt that agriculturists and manufacturers in all parts of the country will respond to the invitation offered by the committee, and help to make the exhibition a success.”

These words were written some months ago, before the Indian and English Press in general had taken up the subject. Since then the very considerable advantages offered by the exhibition, and the liberal schedule of prizes, have attracted widespread interest, and it is understood that the success of the exhibition is already assured.

Both the Maharaja of Mysore himself, as the head of the Hindu rulers of India, and his Minister, Mr. Madhava Rao, by this exhibition, and by the wise arrangements made for it, bear testimony to their earnest belief in that enlightened industrialism that His Excellency the Viceroy has indicated as the true *Swadeshi* for India. Nor is His Highness the only Indian potentate of the first rank who has proclaimed his adhesion to this principle. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda—a Prince hardly

less powerful than the Maharaja of Mysore, and the supreme ruler under the King-Emperor of a State larger than Saxony and more populous than Greece—has frequently expressed himself, in language of remarkable force and ability, to the same effect. Only the other day, on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Bank of Baroda, the Gaekwar, after explaining most lucidly the bearing of industrialism on the future welfare of India, concluded his speech in these interesting words :

“ It is my profound conviction that the line of least resistance in the progress of India at this time lies in the hard study and consistent application of the paraphernalia of industrialism to Indian conditions. Only in this manner can we fit ourselves for the larger demands of statesmanship ; and only in this way can we, as a people, expect ever to enter the haven of economic independence. As the West owes its progress of the last couple of centuries to the application of scientific invention to all phases of life, so India must look to the same formula. I do not in the least minimize the necessity of reform in the social organism and reform in the political administration ; but change in these directions is apt to be slow unless forced from beneath by an ever-increasing sense of industrial independence and economic self-respect, if I may be allowed to use such an expression. It is my duty to impress upon my people again and again that the development of industries and commerce rest primarily upon them. Without individual pluck, perseverance, energy, and foresight we are powerless to effect any solid and lasting improvement in the economic condition of the country.”

As a State, Baroda is perhaps not quite so advanced in some respects as Mysore. But both these great countries are fortunate in being ruled by Princes who are honestly devoted to the welfare of their subjects, and who are convinced that the old methods of *laissez faire* and *laissez aller*,

so long followed in India under the shade of Cobdenism, are now obsolete. With the hearty approval of the Viceroy, whose opinion about the true *Swadeshi* I have quoted, and with the aid of able British Residents conversant with the movements of modern science and invention, and not less able and enlightened Indian Ministers, these Princes are guiding their peoples into ways that will both enrich and advance them.

I have already alluded to the interesting fact that one of the great Chiefs of British India, His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, was the patron of the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition of 1905, organized under the auspices of the National Congress. The Maharaja of Benares opened that exhibition in a speech of remarkable force and wisdom that has been published in the "Report of the First Indian Industrial Conference." That very valuable report refers to the teaching of Mr. Justice Ranade, and points out that "the Indian National Congress has from its very inception given prominent attention to the economic problem of the poverty of India." It declares that, among the causes of that poverty, "the Congress has always recognized the decline of India's indigenous industries as a principal one"; and in his Presidential Address on the same occasion the Maharaja of Benares strongly emphasized this point in words that are worth quoting at length in this place, as clearly demonstrating the value of such national exhibitions as the Mysore Dasara Exhibition. The Maharaja, in the course of his address, said :

"The organization of these annual exhibitions by successive Reception Committees of the Indian National Congress is proof of the determination of the educated middle class of India to wipe away the somewhat just reproach that they pay excessive attention to political agitation, and have no adequate conception of industrial development as a factor in national regeneration. If I am right in thinking so, I take leave to congratulate them on this recent development of their programme.

Believing as I do that the first need of my native land is the working up of its rich natural resources, I am naturally pleased at the earnest effort that the intellectual aristocracy of the country have begun to put forth to compass this end.

"I do not propose to dwell at any length on the splendid past or the brilliant possibilities of Indian industries. It is enough for us to know that it is the considered opinion of so high an authority as Sir Guilford L. Molesworth that India possesses enormous natural wealth and resources—agricultural, mineral, or industrial—but they are to a great extent undeveloped. Her coalfields, so far as they have been explored, cover an area of 35,000 square miles, and are estimated to contain 200,000,000,000,000 tons of coal! Some of the seams are 70 to 100 feet thick. In Bengal and Assam there is coal nearly equal in evaporative power to medium Welsh steam-coal, though inferior to Aberdare. In some parts of India the supply of iron ore is on a scale of extraordinary and unparalleled magnitude, whole hills and ranges of it being of the purest variety. There is chrome-iron capable of making the finest Damascus blades, maniferous ore, magnesite, splendid hematites in profusion, peat, petroleum, gold, silver, aluminium, lead, tin, copper, plumbago, lime, magnesia, mica, gypsum, salt, soda, and asbestos. There are immense forests of valuable timber. There are food-grains of every description—soft wheat equal to the finest Australian, hard wheat rivalling the best Kabanka; oilseeds, rubber, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, spices, dyes, cotton, jute, hemp, flax, coir, and fibre of every description—in fact, products too numerous to mention. The development of this potential wealth can only be the result of a combination of capital, skill, and labour, of the joint effort of the State and the people. I have no doubt that the Government have done much, and will

do all that lies in their power, to further this end, provided we approach them in a practical way, showing them what we have done and what we want them to do for us."

These words of the Maharaja of Benares are in exact accord with the utterances of their Highnesses the Maharaja of Mysore and the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. Read together, the speeches may be taken to indicate that the great Chiefs of India are fully cognisant of the economic needs of their country, and are loyally desirous of doing everything in their power to meet those needs, and to encourage the efforts in this direction of the educated middle classes. Lord Minto and Lord Morley, Sir Arthur Lawley, and, indeed, all the highest authorities of the Empire, are, as stated by the Maharaja of Benares, warmly interested in these efforts; indeed, the "Report of the Benares Industrial Conference" quotes on its title-page an official letter declaring that "the Government of India are in full sympathy with the objects of the Indian Industrial Conference." When Tariff Reform is adopted in the United Kingdom—probably at no distant date—Indian industries will receive a preference in all the markets of the Empire, and adequate protection from foreign industrial inroads; but even now the Government of India are frankly desirous of promoting the industrial and commercial interests of the people by every legitimate means short of actual preference, such as railway extension, canals, irrigation, and so forth. They look with the heartiest approval on such efforts as those that are being made in Mysore to increase the productive capabilities of the country and its people, and to extend its markets. Now that the Annual Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition is to be an important feature in every year's Dasara in Mysore, it is impossible to doubt that, year by year, the prosperity of the State, the happiness and contentment of the people, and the popularity and dignity of its Government, will be sensibly enhanced by this most valuable institution.



## LIFE AND LABOUR OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.\*

BY R. E. FORREST.

"THE nucleus of this volume was formed by certain lectures which the writer delivered at the Passmore Edwards Institute and elsewhere" in 1905-1906. "Mrs. Humphry Ward, presiding at one of the lectures, was kind enough to mention three qualifications" in the writer for dealing with Indian life. First, "that, being born and bred in India, he is of the people"; second, his "association with the Government of the country enables him to view Indian life also from the administrative point of view—viz., as a whole, and with special reference to social organization and cohesion"; third, "a Cambridge education and a lengthened study of European life and methods should enable him to present facts in a form which may appeal to European readers, and be not unacceptable to that large body of University men in India whose minds are still seeking an adjustment between Western ideals and Eastern traditions." To these the writer himself would add the qualification of "an open mind." And now this book gives good proof of the possession of these qualifications. To the present writer, whose interest in India is of old and deep, its title-page is a marvel and a portent. Cambridge, the Indian Civil Service, an Indian Mussulman—who would have thought of the conjunction of these in the first years of one's own service, the last years of the wondrous reign of John Company, Abdullah Yusuf-Ali, M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law, and the quotation from "the father of English song"? Setting aside all other opposing cir-

\* "Life and Labour of the People of India," by Abdullah Yusuf-Ali, M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law. London: John Murray, 1907.

cumstances, the thing was then impossible from the attitude of the Mussulmans themselves. It was by the exertions and example of Syud Ahmed Khan that they were moved out of that sullen stillness; he was the first to send a son to an English University. In a book like this, and in its author, is noble fruitage of our rule, of recognition of the conditions of that rule by a man of thought and action, of high enthusiasm, of real foresight with regard to the future of his co-religionists and compatriots; one the reverse of a self-sufficient, self-seeking babbler: therefore has he, Syud Ahmed Khan, rendered those of his own race and creed an infinite service. Mr. Abdullah Yusuf-Ali has taken part in that rule of India; the whole force of the British Empire has moved at his command. We remember what a pride Syud Ahmed Khan took in his judicial position, though one so much lower than those his exertions have enabled his co-religionists to attain.

What does such a title-page presage? The spread through the whole of the large section of the human race inhabiting the peninsula of India of English thought and English speech, the making the future predominance of the English language in the world sure?

The book has its own separate value as affording indications of the character of the writer. The name of Ali with the suffix M.A. (Cantab.): we need not go back to the Crusaders nor to the India of sixty years ago, but take ourselves now to the banks of the Indus, to Turkey, to Egypt, to Morocco, to feel the strangeness of the conjunction. But what the result? What the outcome of a mixed Oriental and English education and bringing up? What the effect of having to make, in the words of the writer, "an adjustment between Western ideals and Eastern traditions"? In some conspicuous cases, where the opposite was most to be desired, the result has been failure. As we would desire that every Englishman in India should hold himself a representative of his native land, and be high and noble in his conduct and behaviour for the sake

of its good name, so should we desire the native of India who comes to England to hold the same with reference to the place of his birth, his religion, and his race. We are glad to find that throughout this book the indications are of high and noble views. His thoughts and sentiments are to be gathered not only from what he has written himself, but also from the quotations he has placed at the head of his chapters. What a man has read; what he remembers; what has fixed itself in his memory, taken root; what he holds worthy of attention, of recalling—all these give indication of character. To the chapter on Village Life he has prefixed a quotation from Wordsworth, the first line of which is "Love had he found in huts where poor men lie"; and with regard to the observation of the people of India he says that the observer may do so from high up in a balloon, or from the level of the earth, but still from without, or he "makes himself one of the mass." He enters into their feelings, shares somewhat in their difficulties, and experiences a little of that patience and passive heroism with which God endows souls born to much suffering. Then he realizes how much of the common heritage of humanity is shared by the silent masses of India—the sin, the pain, the sorrow, the misunderstanding, "the whips and scorns of time," "the proud man's contumely," and "the spurns which patient merit takes of the unworthy," set in the balance against the beauty, the truth, the fidelity, the unselfishness, the heights of noble enchantment, and all "the touches dearest/prized" of a free, happy, and love-encircled life. In realizing this he is made conscious not only of the unity of Indian life, but its kinship with the whole world. The writer dwells on the brotherhood of man, the solidarity of the human race. He must know the saying of Sheikh Saadi of Shiraz that "all the sons of Adam are members of one body." For his chapter on Industrial and Economic Problems he chooses these fine lines of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's (how she would have rejoiced to see them so used):

"Every nation  
To every other nation, strange of yore,  
Shall face to face give civic salutation,  
And hold up in a proud right hand before  
That congress, the best work which she could fashion  
By her best means."

For his chapter on Civic Life he chooses the quotations we give below, and another which we shall have to quote in another connection :

"Oh, what a joy this life would be then! No more hateful strife! Only emulation. All eyes turned to the same goal. Every effort, every nerve, straining onward, upward—each man in his own natural way. Prosperity for all—the work of all!" (Ibsen).

"Commonwealths are not physical, but moral essences" (Burke).

"The most worthy pursuit is the prosperity of the whole world" (Piyadasi).

Note the conjunction of names.

Now to make our quotations from the chapter itself.

"Some observers would doubt whether there is any active civic life in India. They fix their gaze on the predominating factors in the government of the country, the factor which has moulded its history for centuries past. That has always taken the shape of a central Government responsible only to its own conscience, and to religious and moral sanctions for its policy and conduct. When these were dormant, we had government of the most arbitrary and brutal type. When these were active, we had an administration of the most beneficent and enlightened kind. But in either case there was no continuous growth of institutions, no evolution of the people guided by ideals which, whether successful or not at any given stage, supplied the motive-power in the lives of communities. The people, as a factor in the commonwealth, were, for all practical purposes, neglected. . . . We look in vain for a definition of the rights and privileges of the people as a whole, as an estate of the commonwealth. The concep-

tion was developed no further in Muhammadan India. Muhammadan polity started in the land of its birth on a thoroughly democratic basis. . . . In Moslem Spain, municipal institutions are said to have flourished. But the circumstances of India prevented these tendencies from bearing any practical fruit. . . . The idea never took root, and in the unstable history of more than two centuries after Akbar, the music of the soul of human society, ever striving to express itself in the growth of ethical ideas and concerted action, was subdued in the martial clang of internecine warfare.

"What about the village institutions? Did they not embody and keep alive the civic ideal? To this my answer is only a qualified 'Yes.'"

"The prevailing notion that the ancient Indian village was based on communistic ideas of property and life is, I think, incorrect. In movable property we find nothing to justify us in inferring that anything like communistic ideas existed. In regard to land, the fact that periodical redistributions of land took place, and that no exclusive and permanent rights were recognized in individuals, has led to the reasoning that the property was joint. But perhaps it would be truer to say that no property in land was recognized at all, whether in the individual or in the community. Land was treated as a free gift of Nature, like light, or air, or the water of a river. As long as the population was scanty, and the quantity of land appeared unlimited, there was no occasion to create well-defined rights of property. When the demand first began to outstrip the supply, the rights which were earliest recognized were rights of cultivation or pasturage, or, to speak generally, rights of temporary possession. These were regulated by many provisions of customary law, designed, no doubt, for the common good, or for the good of the lord or chief, much in the same way as an individual's private conduct was regulated. A conquering chief parcelled out the land among his kinsmen or retainers, in the same way



as he might detail his sentinels on duty at different posts, or assign different offices or functions to different members of his household. Here the question would not be one of property in the individuals, the community, or the chief, but rather one of discipline and organization. Nor was life in the village community based on communistic ideas. Equality among all the members was the last thing that would have occurred to a philosopher of the times, or been recognized by anyone in touch with the actual government of the village. There was a splendid system of subdivision of labour, and a thorough understanding between the different classes into which the community was divided.

... There is therefore no paradox in the fact that the most beautifully organized structure of the village community led to no advance in civic life—the life that uses the experience and organization of local communities for the formation, development, and support of the wider and more human, as opposed to a theocratic, or other mystic, conception of the State.”

“The growth of civic institutions can all be referred to the last half-century. . . . But the greatest landmark in the history of modern representative institutions in India was the action of Lord Ripon's Government in 1882. . . . The objects held in view by the far-reaching reforms then promulgated were stated to be twofold: first, to relieve the officers of Government from a portion of the duties and responsibilities which had gone on increasing as the machinery of government became more elaborate; and, secondly, to introduce local interest in local affairs, coupled with local unpaid service as an instrument of political and popular education.” And also, we may add, to give the people a measure of rule in their own land.

“There are now in the whole of British India 763 municipalities. The population living within municipal limits is close upon 17,000,000.” (And the present writer has beheld the beginning of this, as of tea-planting, railroads, elementary education, and so many other things.)

"Indeed, the standard of care and economy to be expected in regard to public money ought to be very much higher than that which people are accustomed to exercise in their own private affairs. If a man mismanages his own affairs he only hurts himself, and the ordinary promptings of human nature should in most cases deter him from persistently erring in that direction. But when he fails to exercise the utmost diligence in his power in the administration of public funds committed to his care as a sacred trust, he is a traitor to the interests of hundreds of poor tax-payers who have bestowed upon him the honour of being their representative because they trusted him." Here is mark of a new spirit.

"The German philosopher Haeckel uses a felicitous phrase, 'Communal Soul,' in discussing the habits of the most primitive of Protozoan forms. Whether this communal soul exists in the unicellula radiolaria must be left to biologists to determine. But it certainly forms an important factor in the capacities of mankind. It is the centripetal force which binds families, races, and nations together. It is the element which lends pathos, dignity, and sublimity to epic poetry. It gathers the threads of isolated thoughts, floating dreams and visions, and unconnected deeds of gallantry and heroism, and weaves with them a tangible and splendid fabric, whose composite glory of sparkle, softness, and strength forms the outer robe of aspiring humanity in its stately march through the centuries." The communal soul is to take the place—we infer, the author does not assert—of the vanishing religious soul. This communal soul does not exist in India. The foundation of the social structure there is not communistic, but individualistic. The sole concern of each man is for his own individual rights, for the sanctity of his person, his cooking-place, his utensils. They secured, he cares not for the general governance. The author speaks of "the unity of Indian life." We have quoted the passage above. He asserts its existence on the ground of the common

possession of all the characteristics of humanity. The numerous and various races that inhabit the vast and varied area that lies between the Indus and the Bay of Bengal, the Himalayas and Cape Comorin : will they not all bleed when they are pricked? But as we are considering a specific thing, "the unity of India," would not direct examination of the thing itself be better than any amount of general talk, however lofty? "What is this unity? What is it like? How does it show itself? What do the people themselves think of it? It does not show itself at all, for it does not exist. The people do not think of it at all, because to them it is unthinkable. To them separation, and not coalescence, is the fundamental law of the human association to which they belong, which was founded for them by the gods. Men are not born equal, but unequal. Nowhere have men been held to enjoy such privileges, suffer such disabilities, by reason of their birth as in India. Men are born of high caste or low caste, and so they must remain. They are born with pure or polluted bodies, and they must carry them from the cradle to the grave. They are born bankers, merchants, scribes, or tailors, carpenters, potters, tanners, scavengers, or forest wanderers, and so they must continue." The writer waxes eloquent when speaking of the centripetal communal force. But it is on the centrifugal, disintegrating forces that he has to dwell when treating of the various social organizations and communities in his chapter on Social Tendencies. We will now make some quotations touching on this subject. Such quotations serve likewise to exhibit the manner of thought and feeling of the author, as also his mode of writing our English tongue, which is excellent.

"The Aryan invasion of India already found a social system which the invaders did not replace or modify organically. . . ." "There were many Aryan invasions. . . ."

"The teaching of Buddha, the invasion of Alexander, and the establishment of Scythian kingdoms all brought in new elements into the social structure."

The author thinks it an error "to speak of the Dravidian element in the Indian population as in some way representing a lower plane of civilization than the Aryan."

"Dravidian tendencies have had the fullest play in the social systems of such out-of-the-way native states as Cochin and Travancore."

"The Mongolian element, too, has to be taken into account." The Mongolo-Dravidian element is predominant in the ethnology of Lower Bengal.

"The earnest, militant, puritanical spirit of Islam, the quiet, commercial, philanthropic, and (until lately) non-political habits of the Parsis, and the active, energetic, materialistic tendencies of European civilization, have added important elements to our social ideas, which can in no way be measured by the numerical insignificance of the people who were responsible for their introduction into India."

"These diverse elements" have produced a "crumbling process" which "has resulted in a complete social chaos."

"It would be too much to say that in social matters every man is a law unto himself, but it may be said truthfully that the social unit which influences a man's conduct is so small that its atmosphere is close and unhealthy. If the individuals in a given unit multiply, there is no chance of a healthy circulation of ideas being set up. The fissiparous tendencies of the unit assert themselves, and it breaks up into other units, which readily fall off from the parent stem."

"The diversity of social phenomena in India is a fact visible on the surface," though the author thinks, as already stated, that there is unity, an "underlying uniformity."

"The chief subject that will suggest itself for our consideration is Caste. Under that one word may be grouped most of the phenomena of our social life. How is this hoary institution, 'Caste,' holding its own in the new social struggle? And what effect has it on the social regrouping that is sure to follow the altered circumstances

of the internal structure of Indian society?" "The strictness of caste regulations in the matter of food and drink is well known. There are wells in villages from which no low-caste man is allowed to draw water. Where there are other wells exclusively set apart for the lower castes, this restriction may not operate harshly; but in the absence of such wells, the lower castes have to shift for themselves as best they can." Why do not the Western-ideas-imbued native gentlemen who desire an electoral franchise do something to deliver their poorer countrymen from a cruel and tyrannous disfranchisement such as this?

With regard to the defiling touch, what the writer calls "the matter of social contact," he says (mistakenly, according to our own experience) "the rules can never have been very strict in a mixed population like that of India"; but allows, further on, that it "is perfectly true that any familiar intercourse between the higher and lower castes must have been impossible so long as exclusive ideas were allowed free play in the social system. Even now there are some castes in Southern India, numbering about 4,000,000 souls, which are supposed to be so low that they pollute even without touching." We believe that these castes are not allowed to hold any land. Will not some Indian patriot do something for these men?

The caste restrictions, the author says, are beginning to be relaxed, at all events modified. The chief agent in this has been "not the press, nor the pulpit, nor the schools of philosophy or ethics, but the humble railway train, and the levelling yoke of the factory and the workshop." To this we would add the possession and permitted use of mechanical appliances, the want of which was one main cause of the starting of the rules. If you have but one cup to drink out of, one dish to eat out of, and those made of metal, difficult to clean and keep clean, you will be very careful as to whom you give that cup to drink out of, whom you let dip his hand into that dish with you; the doing so will become the great mark of brotherhood, the



refusal to do so be the dread sign of ostracism. The want of soap fit for personal use, of effective toothcombs, has led to the use of the razor as the great means of personal purification, to its use on all parts of the person, which has had very far-reaching political, moral, religious, and social consequences. The tonsure of the priest in the West is connected with the shaven crown of the East, as the veil of the nun is connected with the veil, the purdah, of the Zenana-keeping lady of the East—both marks of segregation, retirement, lofty living. The writer says of the purdah that by Europeans "it is usually associated with luxury and languor; but behind it there is a good deal of dignity, domesticity, and religious sentiment." With reference to the effects we have attributed to want of soap—"What great effects from humble causes spring"—it may be added that when the late ruler of Cabul started his English workshops the objects whose manufacture was most desired by him to begin with were rifles and bullets, soap and candles.

But why does Mr. Yusuf-Ali apply to the railway train the epithet *humble* when he allows it a power greater than that of pulpit, press, or school, a potency which has effected fundamentally the strong structure of the Indian social system, once held built "from everlasting to everlasting"?

"But it should be noted that the regrouping of the industrial system in India is also making serious inroads into the vigour and authority of the hitherto flourishing caste-cum-trade-union systems."

We have discussed so far the tendencies that make for the weakening of caste ties. But, on the other hand, there are opposing tendencies which make for the strengthening of the caste idea, which we must proceed to consider.

It must be remembered that the caste idea is so strongly rooted on Indian soil that, whatever changes of form or name it may undergo, it completely takes possession, and runs through the life of all the peoples who live, or even sojourn, in the country." The remarks which I have

hitherto made may be supposed to refer principally to the Hindus, but they apply to the Muhammadans with very slight alterations. It is no exaggeration, though it will create surprise at the unexpected terms in which the matter is put, to say that Muhammadan society in India is, generally speaking, based on caste organizations, although they have been diversified by many anomalies proceeding from the fundamentally different nature of the system which theoretical Islam presupposes."

"It is in this question of marriage that the caste feeling is so strong and shows no sign of weakening."

"The improvement of communications and the slow, but steady, growth of the press and a popular literature have also tended to solidify the structure of Hinduism and make it less elastic. This has often been spoken of as the revival of Hinduism."

"The action of the Law Courts has considerably strengthened this tendency. There is no system of law of general application in India, except Penal Law and Commercial Law, and Commercial Law is still in a somewhat rudimentary stage. In the matter of marriage, divorce, succession, and family rights, the law is personal." Decisions have to be come to in accord with Muhammadan or Hindu Law. This varies according to different books and sects. The Hindu law is semi-religious; the British Government cannot, therefore, interfere with it; the Anglo-Indian courts can only interpret and apply it, but their decisions form precedents, and give it a continued existence and strength. This "leads to arrested development and want of progress," and "certain old ideas become stereotyped which would have been interpreted away in a purely native system of jurisprudence." But the old ideas, and the laws and customs dependent on them, are thus maintained—Hinduism strengthened.

Then the writer turns again to the elements of disruption. "The emphasis laid on shibboleths; the creation on all sides of party cries; the severe strain of the modern

competitive life—these introduce a note of bitterness " into social life. A man returns to the country from the town with money. " But he returns a different man—less peaceful, less tolerant, more arrogant, more infected with the spirit of the law, the grasping, anti-social tendencies of the competitive machine."

Then "all hope of peace is gone when there comes on the scene a religious or political agitator. Perhaps he represents a sect, a newspaper, or an organization. More probably he represents nobody but himself, though he has a mask which he puts on to deceive others."

By such men animosities are aroused between the different sections of the community—Aryas, Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians. "The beginnings of these quarrels are, if you trace them with sufficient care, generally personal. The people are sacrificed for the passions of their chiefs." We have such declarations as "the bitterness and incoherence of our social life," "the nullifying effect of sectional antagonism on all our social aspirations." "One of the most marked tendencies of Indian social life is that all forms of institutions making for order and joint action are getting disintegrated or undermined." "The Joint Hindu Family is breaking up." The village organization "has suffered in the same way too."

"In religion the Hindus never had an organized Church, or confederation of churches, as the term would be understood in Europe. Islam had originally a strong idea of an organized social church, but it got inextricably mixed up with the State. Since the State in India is now absolutely neutral with respect to Indian religions, Indian Islam has become an abstract term with no visible organization, and no persons or bodies in whom authority is duly vested and recognized."

Then, finally, the author turns once more to "the healing tendencies—those which make for the building up of the structure in altered or developed forms. First, there is the *via medicatrix naturæ*—the marvellous vitality and powers

of recuperation shown by all Indian institutions, even those reputed most effete. Then there are the conscious attempts by the best minds of the country to apply the best remedies—each in his own way—to the evils that strike them most. Then there are the societies, sabhas, and other public bodies, which attempt, according to their lights, to solve many of the vexed questions that confront the people. Lastly, there is the agency of Government, which, by means of legislation and administration, has, directly or indirectly, materially altered the current of the social life of the people. And yet, without detracting from the value of those powerful influences, it can truthfully be said that there has been no co-ordinated effort at social reform. Sectional energies have been wasted in grappling with evils that are the symptoms rather than the causes of the abuses that reach the very core. Then the want of combination, or even understanding, among these different agencies, sometimes leads to avoidable conflicts of opinion which defeat the very purposes which all of them have at heart. It is only by a systematized effort, in which Government receives the assistance of private associations and individuals of light and leading, that the paths of least resistance can be discovered, and earnest action attempted on lines at once effective and statesmanlike. No hysterical propaganda can form, or conciliate, public opinion. Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair, who remarks that, if the Hindu "makes up his mind to discard the outward forms of the creed, by the very act he cuts loose his moorings from Hindu society, and can no longer take a wife or inherit property as a citizen of India. For, strange to say, there is no form of marriage or mode of inheritance for a citizen of India, as such, but only forms appropriate for professed Hindus by religion, as for professed Muhammadans by religion," advocates "the establishment of a Council of Indians for social legislation." This would mean the reorganization of social life on a purely civil or secular basis. We are reminded of King Akbar's struggles against the fetters of an antique religion

which regulated all public and private life. But Mr. Abdullah Yusuf-Ali finds it difficult to see "how a centralized popular Council for Social Legislation would be able to meet the case." "Would it not be wiser and more practical to try a scheme based on smaller social units?" The Government cannot interfere with "that vast body of personal law which governs the private life of an Indian," because it is quasi-religious, but the Government might "recognize and register the new proposed castes or communities, and allow them to organize themselves for certain well-defined purposes, including legislation on a specified number of subjects. I have used the word 'caste' for convenience. In fact, the group organization would apply to Muhammedans as well as Hindus and men of other creeds. In the main the new bodies would probably be based on caste machinery. . . . But they would also partake of the character of the *Associations Cultuelles* as contemplated under the new French law for the disestablishment of the Church." . . . "A great number of dissenters from the cast-iron usages of caste or personal law already exist, and they are among the most enlightened of the citizens of India. Their status would be defined, and thus citizenship would be completed under some such scheme. . . . This body of men—free, loyal, and contented—would doubtless derive recruits from all classes, until a well-ordered system would be evolved suited to the ethnical needs of India, and capable of gradual expansion in response to the many ideals which would be evolved from India's readmission on terms of perfect equality among the family of nations."

Our wish is to place the thoughts and views of the writer, as a man of a special class, before the reader, not to discuss them. But, with reference to India standing out one day as one sole, single, independent nation, it may be remarked that there is a natural division of it into parts; that the military and predatory forces have to be taken into account; that the writer considers only British-ruled India, takes no note of the great in-



dependent monarchs and princes and chiefs; in all considerations of the future of India it should be borne in mind that Cabul is a part of India, was held so in the past, that she would take a part in any future struggle between Hindu and Mussulman; that the preservation of peace and law and order within the vast, diversified area of India, the defence of her against foreign aggression, needs the possession of great power; that there never was one sole dominion in India in the past, never has been, except in our own case, and has been possible then only by reason of the world-wide power of England, a power which it has taken a thousand years to build up. Whatever may be in the future, it will be observed that in the present this writer would associate the existing Government in his measures for social reform.

It will be observed that, both with the Hindu and the Muhammadan reformer, the aim is to free the ordinary concerns of life from the domination of religion, from priestly domination; to have new rights of citizenship, a new rule of civil law. They would replace religious enthusiasm by civic enthusiasm. We have seen how exaltedly the writer speaks of the "Communal Soul." Speaking of Indian towns, he says: "Their social life is wanting in unity. Their civic virtues are yet dormant; civic enterprise yet lacks that strong moral incentive which makes the needs of the many the opportunity for the devotion of the few. Civic renown is not yet the coveted laurel for which men live and die."

Starting with the thought of giving the author's opinions on the social condition in India at length, we find it has taken too much space, and we may thereby do an injustice to the author by not having left room for quotation of his excellent descriptions of town scenes and village life, his valuable remarks on Education, Economics, Sanitation, his bringing before us of portions of the social life which escape the notice even of those Englishmen who have been in close contact with that life—they could not be of it as he. Our

extracts may do injustice to the animation of the book, due to deep interest, full knowledge, wide reading, an excellent command of English. What he says about camp life in India brings back that joyous time to us, and we fully agree with him when speaking about the country-folk, the villagers, that "the simple habits of quiet, unostentatious hospitality in time of plenty, and of infinite patience in times of suffering or in a time of famine, the tender domestic affections among those people, the feeling that each person has his own place and mission in life, from the sweeper to the Lamburdar, evoke a feeling of restful sympathy."

"Though the village women go about freely, there is no molestation of them, and the men, in their own rough-and-ready way, show a chivalrous spirit not noticed by mere superficial observers. There is room for improvement in the lot of both, but" (and we are glad to find the writer thinking and saying so) "their lives are as happy as possible under the circumstances." With regard to a class of men with whom Englishmen hardly come in contact at all, the Men of the Old Learning, it is said: "They waste days and nights of deep study and silent meditation in trying to discover the hidden meaning of old-world texts, plain and sound enough in their day, but now overlaid by the rust of ages, which it takes longer to remove than to construct a new system."

Mr. Yusuf-Ali's remarks on education are, naturally, of great interest and value. That we have no space to refer to them is to us one chief source of regret in connection with our scheme for this notice of his book. But one or two sentences with reference to a matter of great personal interest as well as of enormous political and social importance. When dealing with the special, as distinguished from the Government, colleges, the author says: "One of them is the great Muhammadan College at Aligarh founded by Sir Syud Ahmed in 1877. It has made marvellous progress during the twenty-eight years of its

existence. Sir Syud Ahmed was not a man brought up under the English system of education, but he had thoroughly imbibed the English spirit. He saw the secret of English progress. He realized the cause of the backwardness of his own community. He decided to found a college which——" We will stop there. From our own recollection (we are afar from books) we should say : " He founded an institution to which he gave the name of Anglo-Muhammadan University." We presume the word was considered premature ; the great founder had jumped too far forward. " The aim of the leading spirits is to convert it into a University, and it is possible that the idea may commend itself to the authorities when the funds necessary to start the venture have been collected. In that case we shall have a new centre of educational influence which will be able to make its own laws and prescribe its own curricula without being hampered in its advanced educational ideals by a system in which it has only a faint voice." Speaking of the buildings, he says : " But the large lecture-hall is a noble building, and the beautiful mosque at the side, with the tomb of the founder guarding the ideals which his zealous spirit conceived in this life, proclaims to the visitor the simple faith and the large hope on which the foundations of the college rest. The dining-hall has not the pretensions of many an ornate scene of mirth and conviviality in merry England or sociable Germany, but it is full of memories for the old Aligarh boy who dines in later life at the Middle Temple Hall, or visits the Gothic Halls of Central Germany." We presume that Mr. Abdullah Yusuf-Ali is the old " Aligarh boy " referred to. If so, Syud Ahmed Khan would have held this book no small reward. We knew him—he was a remarkable man. We were at Aligarh when the University was founded. Syud Ahmed Khan had taken to living entirely in English fashion, and we saw then how the platter and the cup, and various other utensils, may come to play a large part in the "conduct of life," in history.

After saying of Indian towns that there is "no unity of life" in them; that "neither Bombay, nor Madras, nor Lahore, nor Allahabad, is a centre of social life in the widest sense of the term," he adds: "Calcutta is to a considerable extent becoming the centre of Bengali life—hence the loud outcry raised against the partition of Bengal." And in the chapter on Student Life, it is stated: "There seems to be a far greater unity of student life in the Calcutta University than in any of the other Universities." These are points of which English people do not note the significance, even in the rare event of knowledge of their existence. Thought is not taken of the special conditions which have attached to the city of Calcutta. In it has been all the excitement of a great expansion and growth, of its rise, under our rule, from a hamlet to the greatest city in Asia. In it has been the continued stir of a great seaport. Here has been the stir of trade and commerce and manufacture, of a varied industry. Here has been the stir due to a High Court of Justice, to the Law, the Bar. Here, from the earliest, has been the stir and ferment of education. In the missionary schools there was a religious zeal and fervour in the teaching. Here was widest command and use of English literature and the English tongue, with its stimulating influence. Here were great schools and colleges, and the University. Here was a great concourse of students, everywhere a turbulent element. Here was the stir of physical and scientific research and teaching. Professor Bose and Professor Roy—whose names indicate their nationality, professors in colleges in the Calcutta University—hold a foremost place among scientific men. Here are the great schools of medicine and surgery, the great hospitals. Here has been the excitement of the press, the intoxication of its power. Here has been the stir of political life—not only of the political life of the most populous and productive province in India, but of the whole Empire. Calcutta is the seat not only of the

Government of Bengal, but of the Supreme Government also. In it stand the officers connected with those two great administrations, and their numerous staff consists mainly of natives of Bengal, of Calcutta. Trade and commerce and manufactures, the professions, medicine, the law, Government and municipal employ, the press, give it large classes of wealthy and well-to-do inhabitants. Besides, the action of our rule has produced in Bengal a great class of wealthy landowners, and these live in Calcutta as the landowners of no other province do in its capital city. There is here an accumulation, accompanied by a diffusion, of wealth such as has never been known in any Indian city before. Apart from the King's coffers, neither Delhi nor Agra ever held so much wealth. Here the revival of Hinduism which has taken place under English rule has culminated. The new mental and moral stir has led to some measure of dissent in Hinduism, to the formation of sects like the Brahma Somaj, but the great extension of the wealthy class, the appearance of such a multitude of rich and well-to-do families, the greatly increased means of the peasantry, have led to a great increase in the wealth, the power of the Brahmins. They have made the performance of that most meritorious of all acts, the giving of gifts to a Brahmin, more frequent and more liberal, more lavish. More money passes into the hands of Brahmins in Calcutta than in Benares. Calcutta, too, stands on the most sacred of streams. Calcutta is to Bengal what Paris has been to France. In it has been the stir of pleasure, of vice. It is in New York and Calcutta, rivals in their quarters of villainy, that the courtesans bear the largest proportion to population of all cities of the world. The foolishness, the mischievousness, of regarding the citizens of this great city of our own creation merely from a derogatory and sarcastic point of view, as makers of mistakes in English—which, by the way, they speak and write very well—of affixing on them—sensitive, and, be it said, vain—a term like “Jabberjee,” has been pointed out



by us in the pages of this review. But Jeshurun has waxed fat.

In his chapter on Student Life, the author informs us how at one of the Indian Universities there may be between 1,400 and 1,600 undergraduates on the rolls, "of whom scarcely 200 take the B.A. degree in a given year." Of the youths who work their way up only as far as the School Final Examination, he speaks as having become possessed only of "a few ill-digested facts and fancies, which make them unlovely in the sight of friends and enemies." Recently there has been much disturbance in both this class of students in Calcutta, and in the rural parts of Bengal.

This is a good book for the general reader, supposing him educated. It is a book which will be sure to be largely read in India; we should suppose it ought to be. It shows how well a native of that land may come to handle the English tongue. It is a book to be read by all who have an interest in India. It is a book not only to be read, but to be studied and pondered, read between the lines, by all who have any share in the administration of that land. In the writer's descriptions of scenes in town or country, there may not be the hard brilliancy of the flash-light foreign observer; but there is in them the tender, quiet, and soft certitude of complete knowledge, of fond remembrance, of impressions wrought into the being.

We have made our quotations so large in order to exhibit the present social atmosphere: it is that of change and disturbance. The old cannot die and the new be born without throes.

## THE IMPLICATIONS OF UNIVERSITY REFORM IN BENGAL.\*

BY H. R. JAMES, PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, CALCUTTA.

My wish would be to write this paper as if there were nothing exceptional in the present situation in India. Some time ago, when I undertook to write it, I could have done so with a sense of being fully right. I think that, on the highest plane of discussion, one would do so now; but since the mails have brought fuller news of what we learnt by cable on Friday, May 1, it is not easy, and I am not sure it would be right. *Sunt lacrimæ rerum.* . . . For one to whom the scenes and circumstances of Anglo-Indian life are familiar, the imagination is haunted by that pitiable scene of mistaken violence at Mozufferpore, and the balance of calm judgment is shaken. Horror and indignation quicken our perception of certain aspects of the educational problem in India. But indignation and horror also cloud the understanding and darken judgment. Allow me, then, to set aside without further comment this last and worst episode, so unlooked for, so tragic for all concerned—so tragic for the best hopes we who love India cherish for India—and bear with me when I say that I do not think it ought to affect your judgment of the subject I wish to put before you one way or other. I have two dangers to avoid. I would not seem to anyone to treat this thing with levity, but I would deprecate taking too serious account of it when we are dealing with matters of national and imperial moment. I would also express the conviction, not reached without painful searchings of heart, that it is not justly to be attributed to higher education—the cause I now advocate.

Perhaps there has never been a moment, since first the obligation to open opportunities of liberal education in India was first recognised, when the advocate of this

\* For discussion on this paper, see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

education could count less surely on a favourable hearing. There have been opponents and critics from the beginning, and latterly the critics have increased in number and variety, and sometimes it is difficult to distinguish friends from foes. There are those who think the attempt to let in the full light of reason and science was altogether mistaken. There are those who think the method was wrong because the garb of our education is Western, not Oriental. There are those who quarrel with the details of our system, and the ground of their quarrel is various. Some blame us for overlooking religion. There are even those who charge us with neglecting morals. And now a change has come over the face of the problem owing to apparent political developments. The work of carrying on the ordinary business of administration in the provinces of the Empire under forms long sanctioned by quiet and contentment grows yearly more troublesome, and it is an easy and plausible explanation to ascribe the disquiet and discontent to the leaven of "English education"—of an education, it may be said, that has been proved by experience to carry with it ideas and aspirations incompatible with acquiescence in the existing order, which, nevertheless, cannot be altered in essentials without certainty of general disaster. In our simplicity, it may be thought, we went about to plant loyalty and fair understanding within the Empire; the fruits we are gathering are discontent, disaffection, widening estrangement, with menace of a deadlier after-crop.

It may sound like paradox to say that what is happening is natural, and, in the main, wholesome—like growing pains; that the effects we see are not to be wondered at, and might have been anticipated; that they are evidence not of failure, but of partial success, and are within bounds to be welcomed as such. We have been blowing on the waters, and they are ruffled. We have assiduously been fanning the feeble embers, and lo! they are kindling into flame. But the waters were the stagnant waters of

ignorance; the embers were the active spirit of virtue. For what have we been doing? We have been deliberately trying to teach independence of character, courage, manliness, fearlessness in right-doing; we have been inculcating in the classroom and exemplifying in the playground the uses of organization, the value of combination, the duty of subordinating the individual for the common good, the splendour of public spirit and public service. Surely we are not going to feel surprise, still less betray alarm, if our pupils, one day grown to manhood, show that they have learnt the lesson; that they have acquired the capacity to combine without our leading; that they know how to subordinate personal aims to public; that an increasing number are animated with a genuine, if ill-balanced, love of country; that, following our precepts, they have lifted up their heads—are learning to be men, and claim for themselves the privileges and responsibilities of manhood. It is true the lesson is sadly misapplied, but it is something that it has been learnt with thoroughness.

I do not venture to say that these words express with exact truth what we see in India to-day, but I do maintain that they represent one side of what we see: that there is as much truth in this statement as in any other that could be made as to the relation of education to the present situation in India. And I say that the friends of education have no need to be flurried or put out of countenance, still less to be utterly cast down. They have rather to persevere, to go forward fearlessly and with singleness of purpose along the road marked out, holding firmly to the ideal set before them at the beginning, and leaving the ultimate issues to the power that shapes human efforts to ends beyond our vision. There is much that is evil, as well as much that is good, in the social and political ferment which the newspapers—and other publications—are pleased to call the “unrest” in India. There is no one single cause to this total effect, but several contributory causes. Education is one factor only, though

a potent factor. I should like to claim the good for education, to impute the evil to the other combining factors. That would not, perhaps, be entirely just; but, again, I claim that it would be more true than any other summary statement that could be made. I claim that the effects of education in India, as elsewhere, though mixed, are preponderantly good. Indeed, the effects of education, so far as it is right education and attains its end, can only be good; for it aims at giving men knowledge of the real conditions under which they live, of their relation to the present, to the past and to the future; and yet more—at giving self-knowledge and self-control, a love of righteousness and truth, contempt for mean and crooked ways, abhorrence of all that is violent and cruel. Conspirators cannot be made by sound education in a sound commonwealth. Education is never really the cause of evils imputed to it either in England or in India, but defect of education, and, what is another form of the same thing, misdirected education. Education imperfectly achieved in an unfavourable medium may have various untoward results, but only in proportion to the failure of attainment. The hindrances to success in India are, I know, very great, and it is small matter of surprise if some of the results of education, well intended but imperfectly achieved, possibly sometimes misdirected, are bad. The right practical conclusion, however, is not to stop, or even check, education, but to renew the effort to overcome the hindrances. The cure for the ill effects of imperfect education is more education and better.

The acute phase of political agitation through which we are passing, and which I, for my part, think is temporary only, coincides rather remarkably with a great educational crisis, the most important crisis for higher education since universities were founded in 1857. The coincidence I believe to be accidental, for there are other adequate reasons which explain the present violence of political feeling, more especially in Bengal. But, at all events, if



any significance is to be attached to the juxtaposition, I may draw this argument from it. The fact that in 1904 the state of University education was judged so unsatisfactory that an Act was passed, and took effect in September of that year, remodelling the constitution of the Universities, and making provision in various ways for correcting abuses and deepening and strengthening the character of that education, is evidence that we had not up to that time made the best possible of higher education, and is earnest for serious determination to make that education better in the future. I wish to urge that the situation as a whole is hopeful—that we have frankly recognised our shortcomings and deficiencies, that we are trying to do better, and that it is wisdom to give University reforms the best chance possible.

This is, indeed, my main thesis. I desire to show—

1. That there is no reason to be discouraged with the results of higher education in India so far achieved. Aim and methods have been sufficiently right to justify continuance.

2. That, in particular, University reform is pregnant with great hopes of a far sounder attainment, provided that it is vigorously carried forward, as it has been courageously begun.

3. But that for the realization of these hopes great and increasing efforts are needed, and therefore that the sympathy and advocacy of friends of education in the British Isles will be of the greatest value.

My standpoint is purely educational, and I confine myself strictly to University education. I trust that in so doing I run no risk of being taken to ignore or underestimate the importance of other kinds of education. The scale of things in India makes every problem immense, and University education is large enough, and too large, for one paper such as this. It is also the form of education on which the greatest effort in the past has been expended, and, consequently, however great the deficiencies may still

be, we are nearer within reach of an approximately finished achievement in respect of this than of any other form or grade of education. It is worth while to go farther, because we have already gone so far. In great enterprises it is often prudent to stake more in order to win all.

As to my claim to be heard at all, I hope the fact of my being actively engaged in the work of which I write will not be regarded as a positive disqualification, though I do notice a tendency in some quarters to assume that the vivid impressions of a holiday visit to India give the best title to speak with authority on the internal affairs of the peninsula, and more especially so, perhaps, when education is in question. I am also, it is true, an officer in the Indian Educational Service. I will not apologize for the fact, though I have known employment in a college supported by Government viewed as incapacitating for independence of opinion in the sphere of education. I deprecate this view. As a matter of fact, on the academic plane Government service is something of an accident. A professor in a Government college is not only a servant of Government; he is also a servant of the idea.

In addressing myself to my *first* point, which is, that in spite of the searching criticism to which the system of higher education in India has been subjected, we may have reasonable assurance that we are on the right track, I would have it to be borne in mind two things—(1) that the education we are giving is not forced upon an unwilling people, but is given in response to popular demand; (2) that the qualifying epithet "English" given to this education for convenience signifies in strictness only that the English language is the medium of instruction. These points are important in view of current criticism, which I have not space to meet fully. I may briefly point out, as regards the first, that it was Ram Mohun Roy, the founder of modern Hindu theism, who first pressed upon his countrymen the need of a "more liberal and enlightened system of instruction." The first college to give such

education was founded, not by Government, nor by Christian missionaries, but by Bengali gentlemen, assisted by David Hare and other European sympathizers. This was nearly twenty years before Macaulay's much-quoted Minute. It was only when financial disaster overtook the young institution that appeal was made to Government, and Government came to its assistance. Government had no college of its own till in 1855 the Presidency College grew out of this Hindu college or Vidyalaya. Thus, popular in its inception, the movement for English education has been popular all through. The extraordinary expansion of Calcutta University since its foundation in 1857 is plain evidence of what I say. Parallel with this there has been a wider and more popular demand for "English" as distinct from education, even beyond the limits of reason. When, a few years back, Government in Bengal decreed that in the lower classes of its secondary schools history, geography, and other school subjects should be taught in the scholar's vernacular, the lower classes were emptied. The younger scholars went to private schools where these subjects were still taught—irrationally, but in English. In a letter to a Calcutta daily paper, dated May 5 last, I read, in reference to new schemes of primary education, "the cry for learning English is universal nowadays, and among all classes of the people"; and the failure of any purely vernacular system is prophesied. Whatever the reasons may be, it is indisputable that the movement for English and English education has been a popular movement.

On the other hand, it should be clear that the education given in our colleges is not English, nor European, nor Western, in any narrow or aggressive sense. It is no part of our purpose to denationalize our pupils, still less deliberately to Anglicize them. We put before them the best and truest we know, but in no respect do we seek to coerce their judgment. Rather our whole endeavour is to induce them to use their own judgment independently. As to the

favourite contrast between East and West, our attitude is absolutely neutral. We simply ignore the contrast ; for us it does not exist.

The aim of the University is a regular and liberal course of education ; its proud motto "the advancement of learning." We teach the literature alike of Eastern and Western languages ; we teach philosophy and history ; we teach mathematics and the physical sciences. The endeavour is to impart knowledge freely and fully in its perfected form as science. Such knowledge cannot be labelled English or French, or European or Western, or by any local or limited title whatsoever. The orderly interpretation of Nature, the laws of mathematical thinking, the appreciation of great literature—these things are neither of the West to the exclusion of the East, nor of the East to the exclusion of the West. They belong to the human mind in its most universal quality ; here, in the search into reality under its divers aspects of truth and beauty and goodness, all men are on a common platform, and concur, if not always in all details, in the abstract principles which make discussion possible. Of course, unless mind in Europe had been more actively exercised on certain forms of reality than mind in India, there would be nothing for Europe to impart to Asia, there would be no new learning for India, no English education ; but the content of this English education, except for this accident, happy or not, as you please to think it—that it comes clothed in the vesture of English speech—is no more English than Indian : it is simply knowledge, science, truth, the common inheritance of men of every race and tongue, who are able to think in general terms and to reason consecutively.

Similarly, when we endeavour, as we are endeavouring more and more, to go beyond instruction, and to educate, the education we try to give is education in manly and civic virtue, in whatsoever makes men enlightened, self-restrained, capable of union, capable of personal freedom, of social freedom, of political freedom. This is no further



English than in so far as Englishmen have acquired and made their own and learnt to practise these virtues. Men of British race have no monopoly of these qualities, and without constant effort to relearn the lesson they will lose them. We teach nothing but such things as East and West agree to call good—integrity, truthfulness, courage, self-reliance, the capacities for action, on the one side; and on the other order, regularity, punctuality, obedience, self-control, the capacities for discipline. These are not English more than Indian, nor Indian more than English. They are for all who can attain, and in proportion to their capacity for attainment.

If these two points are borne in mind—that the education we are giving is not in any militant sense English, but just education humanist and scientific, the best we can offer, and that it was given to the people of Bengal and other Indian provinces because they asked for it, and continue to ask for it with a demand that grows ever more insistent—we shall not be in any reasonable doubt of the rightness of our aim. That aim has been to educate, to train mind and character according to the best principles of education discoverable. It is not fair criticism, nor to the point, to imply that we deliberately disallow or exclude higher education, if not founded on this English basis. As regards private persons, there is obviously no coercion; anyone who pleases is free to carry his education on an Oriental basis to any point he can attain to, or to found a new Oriental system. As a matter of fact, Government itself, since the time of Warren Hastings and the foundation of the Calcutta Madrasa, has more than once made a set attempt to foster a specifically Oriental system, and the result has been failure. It is curious to find from the *Journal of Education* for May that the same thing has happened in Egypt. Those who, with the best intentions, criticise us from outside say the obvious and easy thing when they tell us to educate in the vernacular, and on the basis of the Oriental culture; but the logic of facts is stronger than



them and stronger than us. The new learning prevails and will prevail, as surely as the new learning prevailed at the Renaissance, and as modern science has prevailed over the pedantry of the old classical education in our own time. Try as we may to rehabilitate the learning of the Tols and Madrasas, or to give it a new garb, we shall not succeed. As soon might one think to restore scholasticism—which Erdmann protests was a very profound and ingenious system—in the Universities of Europe and America, or to bring back chemistry to the formularies of the alchemists. The people of India themselves ask for the new learning, for the literature of Europe, for experimental science, and they will have them now, whether Government helps or refuses to help.

If we are right as to the aim and as to the substance of learning, I think it is just as clear that we are right about the medium of instruction. Not that I fail to see any more than our critics the manifest inconvenience and hardship of having to pursue one's education in a foreign tongue. The handicap is so great at an Indian University that it is a marvel the system has worked at all. But it has worked, and we must go on working it, not because it is not open to grave objection, but because there is nothing else to be done; for, if we are not to teach in English, I would ask, what language are we to substitute for English? Shall it be all the languages with any claim to literary currency, or two or three of the most widespread? Or shall we take one, Urdu, or Persian, or Bengali, and make that the universal language of education? Surely the question is answered in the asking.

It is not practical politics. Our critics are not to be taken seriously. They could not stand to their principle if brought to the proof. And this, I may add, is true of other criticisms of English education and the education departments.

If we go on next to consider the organization of this English education, the system and its institutions in detail,

I admit, as every one admits who thinks about it, that there is much one would wish different ; but this is precisely the state of things we are endeavouring to deal with in University reform, which is an effort on a comprehensive scale to improve the system. I leave this, accordingly, to be dealt with under my second topic, merely pointing out that, if the sinful burden of a ponderous and complicated examination system is made, and with great justice, a principal indictment against us, similar evils are openly deplored in this country, and even Germany and America are not altogether free of them. We bow our necks to the grievous yoke of examinations in India as in other places, not because we like it or approve it, but because we do not yet know how to do without it. We are, in point of fact, doing what we can to lighten it.

The second wave is passed, but, as Socrates says, the third follows, and is the most formidable of the three. If a tolerable case can be made out for aim and methods, what can be said of the results of higher education in India ? Has it brought better understanding, kinder feelings, a more intelligent appreciation of the greatness of that greatly beneficent organism, the Indian Empire, and consequently more hearty acquiescence in the necessary conditions of its stability ? It ought to have produced these results, but has it ? I wish I could answer this question with greater confidence. It seems painfully apposite to the present time to press for an answer. Yet possibly the question is wrongly asked, and we should rather ask, To what extent has this education accomplished its intrinsic aims, which are to make those it educates more capable intellectually and morally stronger ? When the question is asked in this form, we can answer with complete confidence. There is overwhelming evidence that in Bengal there has been an astonishing advance in the last fifty years in general capacity, and the most sober observers would, I think, say in probity also. Not only has the new education effected much, but it has done wonders. We

must look to the revival of Bengali literature, to attainments in medicine and law, to the beginnings of research in science, to associations for practical business, social life, education, literature, and science. We must look to the men of the new learning, men fitted to meet Europeans on equal terms on the bench, in the law-courts, in the Senate-house, in the council-chamber, in every walk of life. If we glance back fifty or sixty years, it is plain that what has been effected is nothing less than a transformation.

If this answer is accepted as valid, we can return more hopefully to the narrower question of its particular effect in producing "better understanding." A public press that is like nothing so much as a reincarnation of that Blatant Beast whom Calidore, Knight of Courtesy, set forth to bind and to subdue,

"The which did seem a thousand tongues to have  
That all in spight and malice did agree;"

an economic league based, not so much on the desire to benefit indigenous industries as to injure British; the rise of a faction of political irreconcilables; and now an outbreak of insane and wicked violence — these are not acceptable signs of "better understanding." These developments, I allow, cannot wholly be disassociated from the educational movement; but I have three considerations to urge in mitigation of any unfavourable conclusions that may be based upon them: (1) The evidences of ill-will are forced daily upon our attention. The many influences and agencies that make for cohesion, comprehension, sympathy, and union are not equally in evidence, but they are in action all the time. Let me mention a few of them. There are the associations of the work of education itself, in the college, in the University, in the Syndicate. Here European and Indian work together habitually for common ends, and there is little friction. There are literary and scientific societies in increasing numbers, from the Asiatic Society to students' debating clubs. There are the associations of organized games, sometimes in

friendly contest, more frequently of support, advice, and assistance. There are the associations of the Bar and the Bench, of the hospital and consulting-room. There are more purely social agencies, the most notable being the lately instituted Calcutta Club. These agencies are constantly in operation, and it is not true that their total sum is less in these days than it was earlier; on the contrary, they grow steadily more numerous and stronger.

(2) In the last three years the natural action of the forces at work has been crossed by a new factor, properly speaking, quite unconnected, but not the less injurious in its effects. This is that measure of administrative readjustment misnamed the partition of Bengal. I do not presume to judge it as a measure of administration, but from the point of view of educational work I condemn and ban it, even as I condemn and ban the reckless utterances of irresponsible party politicians, because they get in our way and hinder the holy cause of education. I condemn it because it has made difficulties that did not exist before in so acute a form, and produced a state of feeling in which trust and mutual sympathy are hard to recover.

(3) The organizations and associations in which the spirit of opposition is expressed are themselves a remarkable proof of the effectiveness of education. The National Congress, the Arya Samaj, the Swadeshi movement, the National Council of Education, all reveal an enterprising spirit, a capacity for combination, a steadiness of purpose, which are admirable in themselves, and show that the new education, so far from having no effect on character, has been moulding character deeply and giving new powers; which is precisely what it set out to do. We do better to take a chastened pride in our handiwork than to cry out against it or stand aghast. This is not at all to say that all the manifestations of the new powers are to be commended, but only that the powers themselves are valuable, their communication an achievement. These considerations taken together justify, I think, a belief that, on the whole, the results of University



education confirm the rightness of aim and methods, and so I proceed to my *second* main point.

The last seven years have seen a very remarkable attempt to reshape University education in India, and especially in Bengal. It began in February, 1901, in a memorial from a number of teachers engaged in University work to the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, and culminated in the Universities Act of 1904. The dynamic energy was supplied by Lord Curzon's keen academic sympathies, clear insight, and strong will. The reason and justification were in the facts themselves.

I am not concerned to retail the shortcomings which brought about this state of affairs, and time does not suffice for it. Probably no one who had not taken part in the work of a college affiliated to Calcutta University, and for a considerable time, could ever understand how poignant in 1901 were the reasons for reform. The facts, for those who care to look into them, are partly embodied in the evidence given before the Universities Commission of 1902, which was never, however, officially published. The report of the Commission appeared in June of that year. What I am here concerned with is the reform itself and the promise it holds out of better success in the era now beginning. New Senates were created by the Universities Bill, and the first task of the new Senates was to frame a complete body of revised regulations. The new Senate of Calcutta University, on which by statute not less than two-fifths of the members are "persons following the profession of education," met for the first time on December the 17th, 1905. The body of regulations which is to give effect to reform in detail was first drafted by that body, then revised by a carefully selected committee, which sat at Simla from May to August, 1906, and finally approved by Government on August the 6th of that year. The work of reorganization has been going on actively since, but the provisions will not all come into full and final operation till 1910.

It is beside my present point whether or no the new



regulations in the form then taken are entirely satisfactory. One obvious criticism is that they are unwieldy and excessively complicated for satisfactory working. On the other hand, there are those who hold that they do not go far enough in securing sound standards, and especially as regards insisting that every matriculated student shall have a knowledge of English adequate to the requirements of his studenthood. The point I here desire to make is that there has been real and solid improvement in several respects, and it is on this that the hopes of University reform are based. I can only enumerate; time does not suffice for an attempt at exposition. The chief are:

(a) The requirement of a course of practical laboratory work from every student who offers for examination any branch of experimental science.

(b) A modification of the character of the matriculation examination in English, which should make it impossible for any candidate to matriculate with as slender English as was possible under the old regulations.

(c) An attempt, by means of specific directions to examiners, to cope with the excessive reliance on memory for mere words, which has been hitherto so fatal a hindrance to real education.

(d) A raising of standards at all stages of examination.

Most significant of all—(e) the deliberate adoption of the resident ideal of education as against the non-resident, and the plain recognition of the collegiate life as essential to sound University education.

(f) Closer control of all teaching in affiliated colleges.

Unless this sketch is too brief to convey the full import of the change that is taking place, my *third* point should need little elaborating. It is manifest that the new ideal which we have accepted imposes on us the need of great and increasing effort, and necessarily involves large increase of expenditure on every college which conforms to it. And mark this—that the ideal is accepted; it is not now a question whether we shall accept it or not, but what course

of practical action is incumbent upon us now we have accepted it. The Government of India, in drafting and enacting the Universities Bill of 1904, laid upon every college affiliated to Calcutta University the obligations of the new ideal. The regulations framed for the University by the Simla Committee, May to August, 1906, and accepted by Government, define these obligations in detail. Lord Minto himself said, as Chancellor of the University, at this year's Convocation, on Saturday, March 14: "We have embarked upon what has been very aptly called 'the new ideal' in University education in India; possibilities are in the air which have not yet been moulded into shape; early conceptions of the aims of University education are giving way to the hopes of educational influence over social life; a thirst for practical knowledge and for the wholesome enjoyment of the advantages offered by residential colleges is beginning to dim the momentary glories of successful examinations." "Not yet moulded into shape"; but it is our business to mould them. It is plain enough what we have to do. Every college which teaches science must provide itself with laboratories, in which all students who learn science may go through a course of practical laboratory work. Higher standards of teaching, closer relations between teachers and taught, necessitate increased staff and better equipment. Greater specialization in advanced subjects involves higher qualifications in the teachers, and therefore more careful selection and better conditions of service. Outlay is involved on building and keeping up hostels for students and residential quarters for staff, if we are to make good the adoption of a residential system. We are required, again, to train our students socially and physically; we have to provide common-rooms, playing-fields, and gymnasia. In all this expense is involved. Greater effort, larger expenditure is necessitated everywhere if a college is to meet the demands of the new ideal, and it must meet them in order to survive at all. The Vice-Chancellor, Dr.

Asutosh Mookherjee, to whom Lord Minto paid a high and well-deserved tribute, made this very clear at this year's Convocation. "Henceforth," he said, "it will be the first duty of the University to secure the efficiency of the colleges. . . . The one possible solution of the situation plainly appears to me the expenditure of more money for educational purposes. I wish it to be understood that I make no exception in favour of any particular institution, be it maintained by the State, or aided from public funds, or supported by private munificence. They all stand in need of urgent reform and expansion. . . . The warning cannot be too soon or too emphatically given that strenuous effort and large outlay will be imperatively needed for many years to come on the part of all interested in the welfare of our colleges and schools."

We may surely expect not only that Government colleges should be quick to answer to the new call, but that they should go somewhat beyond the bare necessity for continued affiliation, and set an example which may lift up the realized ideal in sight of all for emulation and imitation. In Presidency College itself the requirements of the new ideal are pressing with urgency, and this urgency has been met by the projection—I wish I might add the immediate carrying out—of a scheme involving something like 20 lacs of expenditure; and Government is responsible for seven other colleges in Bengal and Bihar. And yet again the attempt to reform colleges will not avail much unless we can contrive simultaneously to raise the standard of the secondary schools, and for this reason a scheme for a training college for secondary teachers is under consideration, and a beginning has already been made to give practical effect to it. Neither can this be done without substantial outlay.

But what of the financial aspect of all this? Where is the money to come from? Happily a mere essayist on education has no concern with finance, high or low. But I have wondered in my time why no one of those who deal with these matters has the hardihood to make one sugges-

tion which would solve financial problems in India for generations, if not for ever, without weakening the defences of the Empire or crippling the efficiency of administration in any other respect. The conscience of British democracy will need some educating to bear the proposition, but the British conscience is teachable.

Failing this happy solution, we must look for help where we may. We want help, liberal help, from Government—help in money, help in wise selection of men, help in opportunities of using men and money to the best advantage; we want help from founders and benefactors, from public opinion, from the sympathy of friends on this side of the Empire. To Government I would suggest that free expenditure on education is true economy, if for no other reason, because no other form of expenditure will so readily win the goodwill administration so badly needs. What may not be hoped from a liberal educational policy combined with firmness in putting down open disaffection? I would suggest, also, that education, as Sir Henry Craik and others think, is a subject high enough and special enough to merit professional representation in the council-chamber. To founders and benefactors I would suggest that their benefactions are doubly valuable when the motive is union, not antagonism. Private benefactors should work with, not against, the State.

And to all who have enlightened sympathy to give, I express the hope that I have shown reason why that sympathy should not, in face of the present situation, be withheld, but rather held out more fully than before. I freely admit that in present circumstances doubt is lawful; I know a little of that doubt. But in the ebb and flow of opinion, amid rolling clouds of misrepresentation and prejudice, we need something to hold firmly to, a clear path to follow. Education, I believe, gives us that something. Whether political concessions can be made, or whether they must be refused, education is needed, and needed more and more.



Consider this also. We English gave this education to the peoples of India because we could do nothing else. For, I ask you, with our high imperial destiny, with our place among the nations, with our knowledge of the better and the worse, with our sense of enlightened policy, what else could we do, when the peoples, whom events had placed under our control for government and for guidance, asked us for the light which Europe had received and made her own and amplified? What course was open to us but to give as much of education and as good education as the resources at our disposal admitted of? And what can we do now but continue that education and improve it? Put, for a moment, the alternative. Suppose the State in India to repudiate education, to proclaim that it has been a mistake, and that nothing more shall be done for it. It would go on without us. I think we may even be sure that it would have come, and in forms more inimical to political stability, if the State had never undertaken to build it up; for it belongs to the age in which we live, to the order of ideas on which our civilization is founded. You cannot shut out knowledge under these conditions; but you can to some extent determine whether the effects of new knowledge shall be wholesome or morbid for the body politic, whether they shall tend in their final outcome to stability or to disintegration. The issue in question is whether the new forces coming into being, the new powers which education gives, shall be for the Empire or against.

Two sights that I have recently seen have greatly impressed me. One day in March I watched from the windows of my room at Presidency College band after band of young Bengalis—probably mostly schoolboys and college students, but many of them well set up and even burly—their loins girt up and long quarter-staves in their hands, marching orderly in ranks along College Street to meet a popular favourite. I think I need not particularize the precise occasion. These were the same "volunteers" who did excellent work a little earlier, when the Ardjodhya festival



brought vast crowds of pilgrims to Calcutta—helping the feeble, protecting women, keeping order—and who were publicly thanked by responsible officials for their services. The other was the gathering at the prize-giving of the National Council of Education—so great a multitude, so unanimous, so dignified, so enthusiastic. This is an organization which is wholly the creation of educated Bengalis, and it shows an earnestness of purpose and a zeal for education in the best sense which merit praise and sympathy. What impressed me in each case was the latent power, and the capacity for self-disciplined action, and order. The signs, as I read them, are signs of great hope, if only the capacities revealed are wisely encouraged and rightly guided. We must welcome the new capacities, and seek to turn them to the public good. For my part, I do not think it beyond hope that schools and colleges should become nurseries of loyalty. Therefore, I submit, the interest of the State in University education is not less at the present time, but greater; that the main hope rests in putting forth the resources of the State to the uttermost for the support and improvement of education.

## REFLECTIONS ON THE METHODS OF SOME INDIAN REFORMERS.

BY AN OLD OFFICIAL.

LOOKING through a file of old papers I happened to light on Mr. Lál Mohun Ghose's very eloquent Presidential Address, delivered in December, 1903, and was more than disappointed to see how full it was of misleading statements, almost intended, one might think, to set the Congress at loggerheads with the Government. It is weary work to go through such a paper simply with a view to correcting such statements, after the lapse of so many years ; but recent events have made it the more necessary to scrutinize the words of the leaders of the people, and Mr. Lál Mohun Ghose's great reputation is, perhaps, a sufficient reason for making a systematic effort to expose language which is obviously misleading, and I accordingly proceed to discuss some of his more remarkable statements.

To begin with, I should like to say how heartily I approve of almost everything he says about Free Trade and Protection, amongst which it is interesting to be reminded of Mr. Chamberlain's original claim, that he could "provide work and wages for all"—a claim long since abandoned even by his own son. Almost the only passage I object to in this part of his speech is the paragraph where he pointed out that "people in India had to pay a very large sum, something like 20 millions sterling, to the India Office, on account of what were called Home Charges, *consisting of the liberal salaries and extravagant pensions paid to superannuated officials.*" Everyone who knows anything about India (and certainly Mr. Lál Mohun Ghose) knows that this is an utterly unfair account of the Home Charges ; and no one knows better than he that they are largely made up of interest on money borrowed in England (where money is much cheaper than in India) on account of railways and

irrigation, &c., as well as the actual purchase of goods not generally obtainable in India.

Curiously enough, Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., who attended the National Congress the following year (1904), took an early occasion to discuss this very question of the Home Charges, and his remarks on the subject are worth quoting as showing what an entirely independent man of business (not a "sun-dried bureaucrat") thought of them. He says, in his letter to the *Times* dated December 9: "I find amongst the Congress party, consisting of the most highly educated natives, a curious aversion to foreign capital; they think it drains away the profits of the country. They point to the great excess of exports over imports, some 20 millions annually, and charge upon this the impoverishment of the country. They ignore the fact that the same phenomenon appears in the British Colonies and in the United States, and yet that these are the most prosperous countries in the world. It is no doubt true that a government by foreigners does impose what may be called a certain tribute on the country" (in the shape of pensions, &c., which may surely be regarded as the premium payable for insurance against foreign aggression and internal disturbance). "No doubt," he goes on, "it would be better for India could the capital be raised in the country and the administration be conducted by natives of the country. But *that is not possible at present*; and it is surely better that the railways should be made by foreign capital than not made at all. The benefits that India has gained, and will gain in the future, from the development of her industries and from cheap means of communication will much more than repay her for the interest she has to remit to England. But at present *these truths are very dimly realized*. . . . With the exception of the Parsees, there is very little enterprise among the people," and yet there is nothing whatever to prevent any Hindu from prospering as the Parsees do. As Sir T. Mahdava Rau said, long ago, "there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more

from self-inflicted or self-accepted or self-created, and therefore avoidable, evils than the Hindu." I think we may fairly set this opinion against that of Messrs. Keir Hardie and Co.

Mr. Smith says further: "The Congress party fixes its attention on what it calls the problems of government. It thinks if it could reduce the cost by employing native agency it would make India a prosperous country; but all the savings it recommends would not add a rupee a head to the average income of the people."

Taking his next subject, "Pax Britannica: its Price," Mr. Lál Mohun Ghose says that India is "no longer the El Dorado which many pretend it is, but a land of ever-increasing poverty." It is certainly not an El Dorado, though it possesses enormous potentialities of wealth when properly developed; but it is also not proved, as far as I know, that it is a land of *ever-increasing* poverty, even though it is true that "the masses of the people" (rather a vague expression) hardly ever have enough to eat, like the poor in so many other countries. It is also unfortunately true that famines do not decrease in frequency, but it is certainly not proved that they are of "ever-increasing severity," whilst it is quite certain that they are so thoroughly under control nowadays that no one need suffer the extreme horror of starvation, as he needs must have done in the "good old times," when, for want of communications, men might starve within 100 miles of abundance; or even in the great Madras famine, 30 years ago, when famine relief had not yet been reduced to a science which compares favourably with the system adopted under our clumsy Poor Law.

When Mr. Lál Mohun Ghose appears to argue that famines are not so much due to want of rain as to the "greedy and avaricious policy of the Government," he leaves the realm of reason and ranges himself with Mr. Keir Hardie, whose authority, indeed, he may be; but when he goes on to say that "Anglo-Indian newspapers have been obliged to admit that the policy of the Government *in the progressive increase of the Land Tax* is a potent factor in the increasing frequency

and severity of our famines," one hardly knows what to say; because he knows quite well that the policy of the Government for the last fifty years has been to reduce the average assessment per acre,\* and naturally the only evidence he brings to prove the contrary is the fact that from 1817 to 1823 (eighty-five years ago) the revenue of a certain tract in Bombay was raised (very stupidly) from 80 to 150 lakhs; and also an old charge of Mr. Rogers as to certain sales of land for arrears of revenue in Madras, where he shows himself so thoroughly ignorant of the case that he actually supposes Mr. Rogers is speaking of Bombay, a country as to which his evidence would have been more valuable. He uses the same misleading methods as Mr. C. J. O'Donnell in saying that the revenue in Madras was increased by a million sterling in twenty years, without giving any information whatever as to the area of the land under cultivation or the area irrigated at the beginning and end of the period. It is surely not unfair to denounce such ill-founded charges as a criminal libel on the Government.

It is a relief to turn from the turgid and, I am afraid I must add, misleading rhetoric of Mr. Lál Mohun Ghose to the sane and sensible criticisms of a sound man of business like the late Mr. Samuel Smith, with which, indeed, I find myself almost in complete agreement. He was not so bold as to follow Mr. Smeaton in proposing a Parliament for India—and I must say in passing that, in my opinion, notwithstanding the wonderfully improved facilities for communication nowadays, such a Parliament could not work without very liberal allowances for its members, which, as far as I have seen, Mr. Smeaton does not propose to give them, though he may have them up his sleeve. Mr. Smith merely says that "first-class Indian

\* I am afraid I must admit that quite of late years there has been what I think an unwise tendency to raise the assessment in certain cases; but that, I hope, is quite exceptional, and we may yet see something like a permanent grain-rent fixed on ryotwari land on a better plan than that of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal.



subjects should be more freely employed in the" (present?) "administration of the country," and that "there should be no absolute barrier against them *except* in a few of the chief executive offices of the country." I quite agree, except that I would have no such absolute barrier at all, and even doubt if there is actually any such barrier under the present régime. Mr. Smith did not explain *how* he proposed to increase the number of Indians in the Administration. Did he intend to abolish open competition for the Civil Service? or to reserve a certain number of appointments every year for Indians only? He says the great thing required is that "the *Government*"—(what is the Government? I presume the "bureaucracy")—"should be in close touch with the best Indian opinion, and that can only be done by having *the leaders of Indian opinion* close to those in authority, and that there should be close and familiar intercourse between them." But he seems to forget that for the last forty years or more we have been steadily enrolling the most highly-educated men we can find in the service of Government, and I venture to say that, in Madras, at any rate, the best of these highly-trained men of affairs have for many years been the wisest and most advanced exponents of Indian opinion, and certainly "in close touch" with all the up-country officials; and I doubt not that officials at head quarters also still see a great deal of the same class in the Presidency towns, and even of the non-official leaders of Indian society in an "easy and familiar" way, as they certainly did when I was in Madras in 1870-72.

In the speech he intended to make in the House of Commons Mr. Smith says that, practically speaking, the natives of India are almost excluded from the Covenanted Service owing to the extreme difficulty of entering by competition in England; but I venture to think that in this he makes a very serious mistake. There are always many hundreds of Indians now in England reading for the Bar and other professions as well as the Civil Service, all of whom might compete for the Civil Service every year. Mr. Smith,

expresses no opinion, I think, on simultaneous examinations, and it is a fact, I believe, that some Indian parents think it would be more profitable to invest the £2,000 required to send a boy to England at the high rate of interest prevalent in India than to enter him for the Civil Service in the regular way.

It seems extraordinary that Mr. Dádabhái Naoroji, in what *India* called his "notable address" on "the Future of India" in 1905 should not only not reply to Mr. Smith, but should not even refer to his refutation of the whole basis of his address, and should even repeat the obvious misrepresentation that "the two or three hundred millions of rupees" (which constitute the Home Charges) "were *entirely* drained away in the pensions and salaries of European officials." Even the *Morning Leader*, in its comment on Mr. Lál Mohun Ghose's similar statement, had the grace to add "and other Home Charges," though it would hardly be supposed from that casual addition that the "other charges" were more than half of the whole amount. No wonder Mr. Dádabhái's audience cried "Shame!" when they were told that some twenty millions a-year were spent on the pensions and salaries of European officials in England; but the shame and disgrace are to the old man who so grossly misled them. No one knew better than Mr. Dádabhái Naoroji how impossible it would be for England to govern India at all without a large backing of Europeans, and yet he deliberately misquotes the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 by leaving out certain essential qualifying words, which provided that natives of the country should have exactly the same opportunities in the service as Englishmen *so far as is consistent with the supremacy of this country*. Mr. Dádabhái knew well the terms of this proviso, for he very candidly quotes the words of various speakers to that effect in his book; but even if the proviso had not been expressly made, he knew as well as anyone that it must have been implied. I denounce his statement, therefore, as a deliberate—and, unfortunately, successful—attempt to mislead an audience the

ignorance of which as to Indian subjects is indeed, as he said, colossal. At the same time it is true, in my opinion, and he would have been justified in saying, that Indians are not as largely employed in the Government service as they might be, though it is also true, as Lord Curzon showed in an elaborate paper published the year before Mr. Dádashái Naoroji made his speech, that "while the total average pay in India has *declined*, the average pay drawn by the Indians has risen—*i.e.*, there has been a transfer of posts from European to native agency, which has been more marked in the case of posts on higher than in the case of those on lower pay." In other words, the natives of the country are ousting the Europeans from the higher posts in the Service perhaps quite as fast as is good for the country.

Another outrageous statement in this address is that "*all* the great industries of India have been destroyed, simply because the people had not enough to eat, and were not able to carry them on." If that were anything like the truth, and not a glaring exaggeration, how does it happen that even Mr. Digby admits that about 60 millions (out of 240 millions) are "fairly prosperous"? And how is it that nearly every Parsee is, on the average, far more prosperous than his English rival in trade and commerce? How, again, does it happen that, as Mr. Smith says, the environs of Bombay, especially Malabar Hill, are covered with villas belonging—not so much to the English "robbers" as the "robbed" Parsees and Hindoos? "No one can doubt," he adds, "that this is a wealthy city and a beautiful. Trade is highly flourishing, especially the weaving branch. The demand for goods is unusually active, and manufacturers alike in Lancashire and Bombay are earning handsome profits. Over eighty great factories, *equal in every respect to those of Lancashire*, give employment to large masses of the population," &c., &c. Is it possible these two gentlemen are speaking of the same country? And I ask once more: Is there anything in the principles

or practice of the present Government to prevent any native of India from prospering?

I was surprised to see that even an accurate man like Mr. J. M. Robertson, in a lecture on "British Rule in India," in 1905, is reported to have said—I can hardly believe he really said—"the Colonies were not called upon to pay one farthing towards the expense of the Colonial Office; but in the case of India *thirty millions for pensions and salaries, including that of the Secretary of State*, were charged upon Indian revenues." I say I can hardly believe he said exactly that; but if he did, surely some of those who were present and knew better should have corrected him; and certainly the Editor of *India* had no business to publish such a statement without some explanation. Even Mr. Parikh, whose language is not generally conspicuous for moderation, in the very same issue of *India* reduces Mr. Robertson's figures to facts, and shows that the whole of the Home Charges that year amounted to only *eighteen* millions, of which he says "*five* millions went in pensions to retired Anglo-Indians"—including at least one Indian, Mr. Dutt—"and £500,000 to the India Office." He did not say what became of the remainder, which was, of course, mostly interest on money borrowed in England for the development of the country, nor did he mention that Mr. Dádabhái himself at one time, before the fall in the gold price of silver, strongly recommended the practice of developing the country by means of cheap English money.

## THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR : OFFICIAL ACCOUNT.\*

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

THE belated appearance of this official record of events that happened nearly thirty years ago is not due, as might possibly be surmised, to the dilatory habits of ordinary War Office procedure : the narrative was compiled from original documents and from notes written on the spot by the late lamented Major-General Sir Charles MacGregor, K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E., and edited by Captain Pasfield Oliver, and was finally revised by Major Cardew, of the Intelligence Department at Simla, an officer whose premature retirement has inflicted a regrettable loss on this branch of the service. But in order to avoid the reopening of controversial discussion on points of diplomacy and strategy the completed work was not given to the public, but was lodged in the secret archives of the army headquarters at Simla, where it has reposed undisturbed for a quarter of a century, and has only now made a tardy appearance, the Government of India having wisely determined to give it to the world.

The names of Sir Charles MacGregor and of Captain Oliver are a sufficient guarantee for the excellence of any professional work ; and this volume is a model of what a military history should be. It contrasts favourably with the accustomed official War History compiled by the military Dryasdusts of a General Staff and stuffed full of dates, figures, reports, and returns. The description of the military operations is precise in details, even to minuteness, yet so graphically and lucidly set forth that it proves as interesting to the general reader as to the professional expert ; the account of the diplomatic negotiations which preceded and

\* "The Second Afghan War, 1878-1880." Official account. Produced in the Intelligence Branch, Army Headquarters, India. London : John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1908.



accompanied them is equally clear and concise; and the whole contents of the book are informed with a spirit of candour and of absolute impartiality.

The second Afghan War followed the first war at an interval of forty years, and was in many respects a replica of it. The causes and courses of the two were similar. Both were provoked by the appearance and friendly reception of a Russian officer at Kabul; in both the invasion and occupation of the country by the British armies was easy of accomplishment, while its retention proved a matter of enormous difficulty. In both wars our arms sustained a serious disaster, though the defeat of General Burrows' Brigade at Maiwand was not comparable in extent or in horror to the tragedy of the Khurd Kabul in 1841; and both wars ended by the exaction of a partial retribution, and by our evacuation of the country. Finally, both wars equally failed to attain the objects for which they were undertaken. Lord Auckland proposed to place a vassal ruler on the throne of Kandahar, and Lord Lytton designed to establish a British Residency at Kabul. Both these projects had eventually to be abandoned in face of the indomitable and unappeasable hostility of the Afghan nation; and the conclusion of both the wars left matters very much as they were at their commencement.

This hostility never slumbered, and recent events seem to show that it is as active as ever at the present day. At the outbreak of the war the Indian Government bargained for the neutrality of the tribes bordering on the Khyber Pass, and purchased it by the distribution of 80,000 rupees to their Maliks and tribal Jirgas, to be divided among them. Yet no sooner had our troops entered the Pass than attacks were made upon the baggage and camp-followers, and it was found necessary to make detachments for the chastisement of the tribes which we had just subsidized. The Amir, even though he be really friendly to us, is constrained to secure the loyalty of his people by persuading them of his hostility to us. The arms and ammunition

which we had presented to the Amir Sher Ali were used against ourselves, and the battery of Armstrong guns which was among them did us much mischief at Maiwand. And though we pay the present Amir an annual subsidy, we are absolutely without security for his friendship or forbearance.

Apart from racial antipathy and religious bigotry, our blundering diplomacy is largely responsible for our unpopularity with the Afghans. Our first contact with them was in an attempt to foist upon them an unpopular sovereign whom they had already dethroned. Shah Shuja, or rather his agents, had the address to persuade our "Politicals" that his restoration would be welcomed by the mass of the Afghan nation; but our Politicals should not have been so easily deceived, especially as Burnes, who was then our Envoy at Kabul, had warned them to the contrary. The fact that a British Envoy was at that time received at Kabul as a matter of course, goes some way to show that the feelings of the Afghans towards us have not improved with the lapse of time.

Lord Lawrence's policy of masterly inactivity was not a success from the Afghan point of view; in the minds of the turbulent and warlike tribesmen it only inspired contempt. And it entirely alienated the Amir Sher Ali, who realized that the alliance offered to him by the English was a one-sided affair, and that, while he was expected to serve our interests, he was to expect nothing from us in his hour of trouble or adversity. It was this feeling which led him to throw himself into the arms of Russia, though, fortunately for our interests in Central Asia, he found the Russians even less reliable than the English, for after having made their unlucky ally their catspaw to create trouble for the British in Asia, so soon as the situation was saved in Europe they coolly abandoned him without excuse or apology to the resentment of his justly incensed neighbours and quondam friends.

The causes which led up to the second war, and the preparations made for it, are the subject of the first chapter of

the book, according to a convenient arrangement by which a separate chapter is devoted to each stage of the operations on the several lines of invasion. Thus the second chapter narrates the movements of Sir Sam Browne's force in the Khyber and at Jalalabad, and the third carries on the tale of its doings up to the withdrawal after the signing of the Treaty of Gundamak ; the fourth contains the account of 'Sir Frederick Roberts' occupation of the Kurram Valley and his clever capture of the Paiwar Kotal ; the fifth narrates the advance upon, and occupation of, Kandahar, by the army of Sir Donald Stewart, and the termination of the first campaign and of the first stage of the war. The sixth chapter is taken up with the lamentable and heroic fate of Sir Louis Cavagnari and his little band of comrades at Kabul in September, 1879 ; and the seventh is occupied with the advance of the avenging force under Lord Roberts, the Battle of Charasia, and the entry into Kabul. It is remarkable how the Afghans, like the Turks and Persians, and unlike the Japanese, have entirely failed to profit by the lessons which they might have derived from European example and experience. Their regular troops, laboriously trained by Sher Ali Khan and his sons in exotic tactics and equipped with unfamiliar arms, turned out to be utterly unreliable and inefficient ; they opposed but a feeble show of resistance to the invaders, and in the words of Lord Roberts, "were conspicuously beaten in the open field, their organization as an armed body was at an end, and their leaders all sought personal safety in flight." The only practical service which their regular army renders to the Amirs of Kabul is to form a permanent nucleus, around which can be assembled the chiefs and clansmen who constitute the real fighting force of the country.

Masses of untrained and undisciplined tribesmen shut up Lord Roberts and his 7,000 men in their fortified cantonments at Sherpore for a whole week, and wreaked their vengeance on the Hindus and Kizilbashs in Kabul who had trusted to our protection ; and it was the charge of the

Ghazis which broke the British line at Maiwand, while Ayub Khan's regular troops hung back.

The fact is that a European system cannot be introduced and worked in an Asiatic army without the supervision of European officers; and the Turkish Nizam army would be as inefficient as those of Persia and Afghanistan are to-day were it not for the staff of German officers at the Ottoman headquarters.

The *levée en masse* of tribesmen and villagers which caused Lord Roberts' force to seek shelter inside the fortifications of Sherpur was estimated by him to have perhaps amounted to 60,000 men, or ten times his own numbers—only half the odds that were faced by the handful of steel-clad knights who in the open field checked the invasion of the Highland host at Harlaw. And the composition and formations, the habits and methods of the fighting men of the Afghan clans at the present day, much resemble those of the Scottish Highland clans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Lord Roberts' prudent resolve to stand on the defensive is thus recorded by the author:

"The object of the Lieutenant-General throughout these operations had been to break up the hostile combination against him by dealing with the enemy in detail, or at least to prevent their getting command of the hills to the north and west of Kabul, and thus gaining possession of the city and the Bala Hissar. Up to this time Sir Frederick Roberts had had no reason to apprehend that the Afghans were in sufficient force to cope with disciplined troops, but the resolute and determined manner in which the conical hill had been recaptured, and the information sent to him by Brigadier-General Macpherson from the signal-station on the Bala Hissar that large masses of the enemy were still advancing from the north, south, and west, made it evident that the numbers combined against him were too overwhelming to admit of his comparatively small force meeting them, especially on ground which still further



increased the advantages they possessed from their vast numerical superiority. The General therefore determined to withdraw from all isolated positions, and to concentrate the whole force at Sherpur, thus securing the safety of the large cantonments, and avoiding what had now become a useless sacrifice of life."

Lord Roberts' prudent resolution on this occasion is the more to his credit, as an excess of caution is not one of his failings. Indeed, the value of the maxim of "*l'audace, l'audace, toujours l'audace*," in dealing with an Oriental enemy finds many illustrations in these pages. A failure to assume the offensive was the immediate cause of the terrible disaster at Maiwand recounted in the sixteenth chapter. General Burrows, with a brigade of all arms of 2,500 men with 12 guns, had to make head in a hostile country destitute of supplies against an army whose numbers are computed to have been about 15,000 men with 30 guns. Up to the actual moment of collision he had acted with judgment and manœuvred with skill, but after forming line of battle he engaged in an artillery and musketry duel with the enemy, whose guns overmatched his both in numbers and in weight of metal, and whose superior numbers enabled them gradually to envelop his flanks. Had the General imitated the example of Wellington at Assaye, and advanced at once boldly to the attack, there can be little doubt but that Maiwand would have been a victory instead of a defeat.

It cannot be said that the pages of this book are not sufficiently crowded with incident, for it may be safely reckoned that hardly a day passed during the two years of the war which was not marked by some fight, foray, or feat of arms, of which the following may serve as a brilliant example:

"A party of the 5th Punjab Cavalry under Captain W. J. Vousden met with better success. This regiment\* was quartered in the King's Garden, about a third of the distance from the city. Now the 25th Cavalry, Indian army.



way between Sherpur and the city, and in the morning orders had been sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Williams to be on the look-out for any of the enemy that might pass in that direction. About 1 p.m. some 300 or 400 were observed moving along the left bank of the river, and Captain Vousden, who with one troop was out on reconnaissance, most gallantly charged into the middle of them; and notwithstanding that only twelve of his men were able to follow him (the remainder being stopped by a heavy fire which was opened on them from behind some low walls), he succeeded in dispersing the enemy, and in inflicting severe loss upon them, killing five men with his own hand. Six of his small band were wounded in the skirmish, which, as Sir Frederick Roberts wrote, 'was a most dashing little affair, and reflects great credit on Captain Vousden.' He was awarded the Victoria Cross for this exploit."

The game was not always so one-sided, however, and many a British officer besides poor young Maclaine fell by an Afghan knife. The huntsman said that the horses and the hounds loved hunting, and nobody knew whether the fox didn't love it too; and so if our Sikhs and Gurkhas were keen on fighting, the Afghan was not the man to balk them of their inclination. Up to the day we evacuated our last camp in that land, which produces no crops but men and stones, the desultory fighting went merrily on, and attacks were nightly made on our camps and daily on our baggage-guards. It is evident that the want of an organized and efficient transport train hindered our military operations as much or more than the activity of the enemy. It is not too much to say that the money wasted and lost through our deficiencies in this respect would have sufficed for the expenses of the maintenance of an efficient army train corps during twenty years of peace. Steps have been taken to remedy this defect, and it is to be hoped that we shall be better prepared for our next campaign beyond the frontier.

Severe hardships and privations were often supported by the troops, both British and native, with exemplary

fortitude, and war had often to be waged against the effects of an unhealthy climate, and an unforeseen foe more fatal than the knife or bullet of the enemy. The effects of the return march through the Khyber in the hot weather of 1879 are thus described in Surgeon-General Ker-Innes' narrative: "Had it not been for the prevalence of cholera, the troops would, however, have performed the march with comparatively few casualties. On reaching Jamrud and Hari Singh ka Burj, and especially as they made their final marches, their distress was very apparent. Their clothes were stiff and dirty from the profuse perspiration and dust; their countenances betokened great nervous exhaustion, combined with a wild expression difficult to describe; the eyes injected and even sunken; a burning skin black with the effects of sun and dirt; dry tongue; a weak voice; and a thirst which no amount of fluid seemed to relieve. Many of these men staggered rather than marched into their tents, and threw themselves down utterly incapable of further exertion until refreshed by sleep and food. This was very marked in the 51st Light Infantry,\* nor did the officers appear to be in any better plight.

"But if there was one class worse than another, it was certainly the medical officers and subordinates. Surgeon-Major Porter states that on their arrival at Hari Singh ka Burj most of these were in a painfully helpless and prostrate condition both mentally and bodily. This was attributable to the strain to which they had been subjected—almost incessant work night and day, coupled with that anxiety and depression which even the most indifferent or callous must share in the presence of so much disease, fatigue, and responsibility.

"Some had almost literally no relief from toil, as from so many of their number becoming ill the duties became doubled and trebled for those who remained at their posts. The medical officer in charge of the section field hospital broke down early, next the surgeon of the 4th Battalion

\* Now the 1st Battalion King's Yorkshire Light Infantry.

Rifle Brigade, and a third arrived at Hari Singh simply capable of handing over his sick before being himself placed on the sick list. The medical officers had been thrown entirely on their own resources in regard to the pitching and striking of tents, receiving no European assistance for this purpose. They had also to muster the doolie-bearers before marching, and drive them like so many cattle along the march. Others, not entitled to draw forage allowance, were obliged to march on foot, and at the end of it (the march) to perform their professional duties when worn out by fatigue and excessive heat. While the troops were passing through Peshawur there were twelve medical officers on the sick list at one time. And, according to the returns of the officers' hospital, the percentage of medical officers to total admissions was 38'3."

Our limits of space prevent us from giving any further extracts from this interesting and valuable work. There are copious appendices giving the details of the composition of the various forces employed, etc., and numerous illustrations from photographs taken on the spot, more than twenty maps and plans, and a good index. The printing and general get-up of the book reflect credit on the publishers, and the only printer's error that we have been able to detect is *Derajat* for *Derajat* at p. 92.

## FORCED LABOUR AND "THUMB-MARKS" IN CEYLON.

BY EDWARD W. PERERA.

IT is with consternation that the British public has recently seen the Indian, so long regarded as the embodiment of quiescence, betake himself to the most violent methods of European lawlessness. The common surprise cannot be shared by those who have noted the manifold provocation received of late by Asiatics; one form of which, their subjection to treatment hitherto only meted out to criminals, has been especially unjustifiable. The insistence upon thumb-marks, for instance, is rightly condemned by civilization as barbarous even when it is applied to savage Africans; how much less pardonable is it, then, when extended to the cultured native of the East Indies. Yet this is what has repeatedly been done in the case of Indians claiming their birthright, the protection of the British flag, in other parts of the Empire; and it is now proposed to carry the iniquity a step further by introducing African penal methods into the Asiatic's own home.

In Ceylon the great planting industry has been the means of importing a large foreign labour force, mainly composed of Tamils from Southern India; and the planters have with success periodically pressed their claims on the authorities to assistance in making this labour-supply adequate, on the ground that tea is the staple industry of the Colony. Owing to their splendid organization, their homogeneity, and the nomination to the Legislative Council of a member elected by themselves, they are the most resonant force in local politics; and native interests, represented on the Council by figure-heads chosen without reference to the wishes of the people, have often been sacrificed to those of the planters. Such is now the prospect once more. Several causes,

including low wages, a rise in the price of the necessities of life, and the extensive opening of new plantations, have brought about a considerable shortage in Tamil labour, and a number of remedies have been proposed.

The most startling is one first suggested, on September 13, 1907, by Sir Henry McCallum, the present Governor, in reply to an Address in which the planters solicited His Excellency's co-operation in solving their labour difficulties. Sir Henry, after alluding to "the great question of bolters," went on to say :

"There is also the question whether a great deal more might not be done in the way of thumb-marks. I came from South Africa, where the same thing has been experienced as estates are suffering from here. I refer to Chinese bolting from mine to mine. That has been entirely got over by a system of registration and thumb impressions. Thumb impressions are carried out by Government in a most excellent and methodical manner, and, as you know, no two men have the same thumb-print, and so the Chinese coolies are being spotted every day where they have no business to be, giving wrong names, and are returned to their employers and suitably punished. I fancy some such system as that might or might not be of some use to you in controlling your labour, and see (sic) that that labour is where that labour ought to be."

But the Governor soon supplemented this South African solution of the problem by one more drastic: he proposed to cut the Gordian knot, commandeering the Singhalese peasant, through his headmen, to work on the tea estates. At the luncheon given him at Matale by the planters, on November 29, he thus expresses himself:

"I have been too short a time in the Colony to be as well acquainted as I should like to be with the conditions of Singhalese labour, but I say now, as I did then, that it is an enormous potential asset, which it is our duty to do all that we can to develop, and that development can only be brought about with the assistance of the native headmen of



the country, who must begin to recognise that life is not to live in idleness, but that in order to be an honourable member of society everyone has to work."

Sir Henry's project assumed a more definite shape by the time he had reached Kegalle, where, according to the *Ceylon Independent*, he said :

"It will be one of the objects of my six years of administration to make the planters less and less dependent upon the Indian labour-supply, and to do all I can to promote their prosperity by giving them a supply of labour at their gates, through the instrumentality of the headmen."

This announcement by the Governor drew forth from Mr. Westland, one of the older planters, a scheme which he communicated to the papers in the following terms :

"The question, How can a sufficient labour-supply be procured to carry on the great planting enterprise? has been so long before us that the words which fell from His Excellency the Governor at the Matale luncheon on the employment of the Singhalese villagers gave me very great pleasure. It is a subject [to which] I have for a long time given careful consideration, and after the lunch I had the pleasure of talking it over with His Excellency. The following suggestions are submitted for further development :

"1. That a Labour Bureau be established at all Kachcheris.\*

"2. That all Headmen, Kōralas, or Arachchis in charge of villages be requested to send, through their Ratēmahatmaya† to the Government Agent at the Kachcheri a monthly report with the names of all the unemployed villagers, men, women and children, able to work, and whose services are not required in the village.

"3. That a District Register or book be kept at the Kachcheri, with the names of the unemployed as forwarded by the Ratēmahatmaya.

"4. That all superintendents of estates who wish to engage Singhalese for work on their estates, and who are

\* Collector's office.

† Chief Headman.

prepared if required to provide house accommodation for such labourers, and pay their expenses from the village to their estate, shall register their labour requirements monthly or quarterly with their respective Government Agents, and duly advise him should they receive labour.

"5. That the Government Agent shall advise the Ratēmahatmaya of the estate requirements, and request him to send the registered unemployed to the estates the villagers may select from the list of employers.

"6. That Singhalese villagers thus engaged serve for not less than one month; that they be paid their daily wages weekly, and give or receive one week's notice before leaving.

"7. Later on, if found necessary, the unemployed villagers who refuse to comply with the request to leave the village and take employment on estates or elsewhere, be charged an annual hut-tax, or be dealt with in the same way as offenders under the poll-tax who fail to comply with that ordinance."

The scheme met with much adverse comment in the Press, even some of the planters denouncing it as impracticable, pointing out the tyranny of forcing villagers into servitude who could live comfortably otherwise, and questioning the political wisdom of a measure so harsh and so entirely ill-adapted to the conditions of the country; one, moreover, which would be certain to raise violent opposition and breed discontent in much greater measure than it had done in South Africa. A Singhalese nationalist body took up the cudgels, and the Government, in accordance with its traditions, stayed its hand for the time being. Its policy in Ceylon, when introducing legislation subversive of the liberties and contrary to the interests of the native races, is to soothe public opinion and allay agitation by vague assurances, in order to gain time. Thus the agitation, when eventually raised, becomes ineffectual, as the Home Government is meanwhile too far committed to undo the mischief. True to this practice, then, an assurance was given to the Ceylon Social Reform Association that no hut-tax was contemplated, and, to disarm

opposition, the Planters' Association was informed that "the particular scheme put forward by your association of organizing an official labour bureau does not commend itself to the Government. It appears to His Excellency that such a bureau should be a private undertaking, organized by the Planters' Association themselves; but if such a private bureau were established, the Government would be prepared to assist the bureau to come into touch with such sections of the Singhalese as may be desirous of obtaining work on estates, either temporarily or permanently."

Thus the administrative character of the scheme, the official connection with it of the native headmen, and the hut-tax, were relegated to the background; only willing peasants were ostensibly to be directed to the plantations, and the headmen were merely to act unofficially as finger-posts to show the ignorant villager the way thither. Comment is superfluous. A mere indication by a Colonial autocrat to State-paid headmen of the Government's desire is tantamount to a command; and the instinct of the feudal subordinate bids him carry out every order, no matter how oppressive, to win favour with the despot.

A vital aspect of the question, the solemn pledge of British faith, has been entirely overlooked by the local authorities. In the case of the Kandyans, when they ceded their country, the British Government in "a public instrument of treaty" with the chiefs and people, formally undertook, on March 2, 1815, to save "to all classes of the people . . . their civil rights and immunities, according to the laws, institutions, and customs established and in force among them." Moreover, as regards the rest of the population of the island, the King by an Order in Council, on April 12, 1832, abolished the forced labour which it is now proposed to restore in a more obnoxious form, declaring "that none of His Majesty's native or Indian subjects shall be liable to render any service . . . to which His Majesty's subjects of European birth or descent are not liable."

This disregard of the national troth is the latest outcome

of an administrative policy whose whole character has changed within twenty years. Sir Arthur Gordon (Lord Stanmore) was the last representative of the old type of Governor, firm, sympathetic, and cultured, who held the scales evenly between all sections of the population, not deviating a hair's-breadth from the path of imperial responsibility to yield to the clamour for racial preference. The people of the country, since their last appeal to the sword in defence of national freedom nearly a century ago, had always been contented and loyal, a fact which Sir Arthur and his predecessors never failed to take into consideration. His successors, too, have repeatedly acknowledged its existence ; but, lacking as they have unfortunately been in the instincts and traditions of statesmanship, they have ignored it in their actions, not only omitting to extend the privileges of those over whom they were called to play Providence, but even trampling on the civil rights already acquired. *Imperium et libertas*, liberty for ourselves, empire over others, is the new spirit of pseudo-Imperialism in which Ceylon is being governed. An iniquitous land-law, enforced by special tribunals, is driving the peasant from his ancestral holdings ; negotiations carried on in the dark by the Colonial Government for the lease of the pearl fisheries, bartered away to a gang of Jewish financiers for a mess of pottage, have robbed the Singhalese of a heritage which was theirs for twenty centuries ; and an anomalous scheme of public salaries nearly doubled the income of the overpaid European civil servant, ignoring the claims of the underpaid Ceylonese official, and establishing, for the first time in the history of the Colony, the pernicious principle that race, not merit, was the test of a man's claim to adequate compensation. In all these cases the Fabian policy of the Colonial administration was successful, and the Home Government's blind faith in the man on the spot led to the most deplorable results.

The latest proposals bid fair to out-Herod the most reactionary of these retrogressive measures. Not only

are the peasants to be hounded from the lands which their fathers tilled as freemen, but to be branded with the mark of Cain and converted into serfs\* for the benefit of "a floating, fugitive population," whose interest in the country is merely temporary.

It is to be hoped that, before this crowning injustice is perpetrated on the people of Ceylon, Parliament may voice British public opinion and stay the hand of the oppressor. Nay, it is desirable that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into administrative methods, put an end to abuses, and reform the Constitution, as was done after the great rebellion of 1817, caused by a breach of faith similar to that now contemplated.

Let us not once again sow the wind, and complain when we reap the whirlwind!

\* The agricultural labourer in Ceylon works nine hours a day in a week of six days at a daily wage of 33 cents (5½d.). He is liable to forfeiture of wages and imprisonment with hard labour for three months for such offences as quitting service without notice, absenting himself from work, drunkenness, disobedience, insolence, neglect of duty, or "other misconduct." Hundreds of labourers, who have left service after giving a written notice through a solicitor, have nevertheless suffered imprisonment with hard labour owing to technical defects in the written notice.



## SOUTH AFRICA'S VITAL PROBLEM.

BY MAJOR A. G. LEONARD.

THE recent report of the Transvaal Mining Industry Commission has brought into prominence a question that, so far as the future of South Africa is concerned, is by far the most vital problem which confronts that country; because it is not merely one of party politics or even statecraft, but rather one that is associated with the people—with every man and woman of European descent who is interested in their own personal welfare and that of their children's children. But this is not all; for it just as deeply concerns the natives and their offspring, and here, as in the kernel of a nut, is the "rub" of the whole matter. It is, in fact, the question as to the future of the white and black races; in other words, it is a solution of the great labour problem, whether the basis of South African labour is to be European or native. It is of this vital issue that I would now speak.

Putting aside all the other problems dealt with by the Commission, serious enough in themselves, but sinking into insignificance beside the main issue, it is significant that the Commission boldly advises the adoption of the white labour policy—not, however, at the expense of the black man. With one exception, that of employing white men on the machine drills in the mines, it recommends fair and open competition for workmen irrespective of race or colour. But there is another salient feature that it is equally insistent upon: this is that ordinary working competition should be restored, and that the premium placed upon the employment of natives ought not to be maintained by the Administration. The Commission, in fact, objects to the importation of natives from outside South African boundaries, and suggests the abolition of the Native Pass Law. These propositions are based on the following grounds: (1) The diminution taking place in the white

population; (2) the acute distress that is being suffered by a comparatively large section belonging to it; (3) the fact that such measures would confine the labour of British South Africa to its own white and native populations, and that the latter would become free labourers. In plain English, the idea here aimed at is to produce a scarcity of labour, by the exclusion of outside natives, in order to provide for the unemployed whites.

It is only possible to thoroughly comprehend all the complexities of a problem such as this—that confronts the present, but the solution of which rests with the future—by making a careful study of the history of the past. On these scientific lines only will a solution ever be arrived at. Let us do so in as brief and as concise a manner as possible. At the very outset of their career—*i.e.*, about 250 years ago—the Dutch selected slave labour as the basis of their economic system. When we came upon the scene, it was a difference of opinion on this question that first caused a split between themselves and us. But this apart, South Africa, from the very moment we wrested it from the Dutch, has been the arena of one continuous conflict of races and nationalities. Waiving the question of British or Dutch supremacy, there has, on the one hand, been the question between the Dutch and ourselves regarding the treatment of the natives in connection with civil and political rights. Thus, while the principle of political equality was established in our Colonies, in the Dutch Republic the natives were entirely excluded from political, and partially from civil, rights. On the other hand, regard the matter in whatever light we may, in reality the natives, as a whole, have always been fearful and jealous of their landed and personal rights. Indeed, it is this principle—the feeling that their lands would be taken from them and their persons enslaved—that, in a broad sense, has been at the bottom of all native resistance to the Dutch and ourselves. It was in justification of this natural principle that they made war on all Europeans; and it was in retaliation for

what we considered their undisguised hostility and aggression that we punished them, and took away so great a portion of their lands. It was in this way—also in the very first instance by purchase of a kind that makes us blush for our ancestors (as, *e.g.*, when two large slices of the Hottentot country were ceded by the inhabitants to the Dutch for goods valued respectively at £7 and £2 16s.)—that the entire country south of the Zambesi has been acquired.

Foreign as this retrospect may appear, it is not, in the true political sense, in the least irrelevant to the question at issue. It is, in reality, this native aspect of the problem that contains its most essential issues, for in the not so very distant future it will not so much be a question of the white as of the black race—that is to say, it will be a question as to whether there is room and opportunities in Africa for both races; because by then—a century or two hence—the native population will have so increased and outnumbered the Europeans as to be in a position to assert their own rights and claims. Obviously, therefore, this is an aspect of the question that our statesmen must tackle if they look ahead to the future issue of the problem, as they most undoubtedly should do. The adoption of the white labour policy, as suggested by the Commission, is certainly sound in a political and economic sense. To construct a white nation on the basis of native labour is quite out of the question. It is fallacious and fatuous to a degree. It is opposed to the fundamental principles of that political economy on the broad and solid basis of which alone national stability can be established. Such a system could never become national. To be national there must be cohesion, assimilation, and unity of physical, mental, and moral energies, as well as of social interests. This can never be as regards the Caucasian and negroid races. At most a medley such as this could only develop into a self-governing community or State holding together interests racial and otherwise that must of necessity and of nature

clash and conflict with one another. Such a system must in the long run prove as demoralizing and degrading to the dark races as to the white. If labour means wealth, as unquestionably it does, it must be the nation's own labour, not that which is borrowed and bought in the cheapest market; just as the prestige and honour of a nation must be defended—as the Japanese defended theirs against the encroachments of the Russians—by the patriotism of its own children, and not by hired mercenaries.

But is South Africa going to be a white man's country? If so, what does the Afrikaner nation, composed principally of Dutch and British stock that is going to labour for itself, intend to do with the natives? Will free competition, such as the Commission propose, solve the problem? Will it not rather complicate it—not immediately, perhaps, but in the near future—especially as it is a known fact that the feeling prevails among Afrikaners that it is altogether *infra dig.* to work when there are black men and to spare to do it for them? How will it be possible to build up a white nation until this rottenly immoral principle has been eradicated root and branch? But admitting that this can and will be remedied, what, a hundred years hence, is to be done when the natives outnumber the whites as ten to one? That this is no improbable contingency the following figures will show:

Approximating the population of South Africa at five millions, the total would be made up of something under a million whites, and something over four millions of natives. This numerical relationship of course varies in the various colonies. In Cape Colony it is as one to five; in Natal, one to ten; in the Transvaal, one to four; in the Orange River Colony, one to two; in Rhodesia, one to ninety or a hundred. Of the Europeans, the Dutch number about half a million, the British, say, 300,000. Of the natives, there are some 60,000 of the aboriginal inhabitants (Hottentots and Bushmen) left, 15,000 Malays, 300,000 "Cape boys" of mixed races, and some three and a half



million Bantu. The bulk of this latter element—Zulus, Kafirs, etc.—belong to the military caste; and under a million—say 800,000—Bechuanas, Basutos, and Mashonas, might be classed as industrial.

At present neither the Europeans nor natives are homogeneous. But assuming that a fusion of the Dutch and British will subsequently take place, what is going to happen to the natives? Unquestionably we have here the makings of a great and splendid country—a country that Nature, on the whole, has done much for, but that man, by the application of intelligent industry, can do still more to improve. But is it justifiable or in any sense rational to speak of South Africa as one country? Has tradition or history ever presented us with a panorama of such political complexities as are herein contained? Will it be ever possible to blend such opposing principles and self-interests as these into one national and harmonious homogeneity? What is going to be the nature of the relationship, social, political, and numerical, that ultimately will be established between Europeans and natives? Will the Dutch element unite with us to control, educate, and organize the different native elements on the same lines that we have so far attempted in Natal?

This, without question, is a most important point. For although our policy in the main has been on broad and expansive lines, there is much room for improvement; whereas Dutch principles, we know, are biassed and narrow in the extreme. There is, too, the still unsolved and serious problem of the Indian coolie to be considered, which in itself is a complication. It is not for me to answer these queries. These are matters that I cannot now go into. Some are palpable on the face of them; others time alone can unravel. The question that at present must still occupy our attention is that of population.

According to Dr. McCall Theal: "That the Bantu population in South Africa from the Limpopo to the sea has trebled itself by natural increase alone within fifty years,



is asserting what must be far below the real rate of growth." This in every sense is a reasonable and admissible deduction. Indeed, when the entire country is completely pacified and settled—an event that is now practically within measurable distance—it is safe to predict that the native population will quadruple or quintuple itself in half a century. This means that within a hundred years it will have increased to over thirty millions. If, then, it is our intention to turn South Africa into a white man's country—*i.e.*, a country based on a white labour system—this question of population is a matter that must be taken into calculation. Admitting that by means of immigration as well as natural means the European element increases at the same ratio—which is very improbable—the proportion will still be as it now is, as five to one. This apart, it would appear a matter altogether impracticable, certainly unsound, to build upon these lines a European nation in the midst of a people that are and must for ever remain essentially African. Between two such divergent elements as the European and the African, there can never be any assimilation. As with stomachs, so with races. A ruminating animal, such as an elephant or a hippo, would die of starvation from a plentiful supply of carnivorous food. Not even the choicest venison would keep it alive. A tiger could not live upon grass or even the choicest assortment of fruit and vegetables. So it is with the European and African. What is meat to the latter is poison to the former, and *vice versa*. Nature and time have made them so—made them from the same germ, but to so vary and diverge as to remain apart for ever and aye. Unquestionably, civilization can do great things for the African. It can humanize and civilize him, but it will never make a European of him any more than it could turn a European into an African. A conversion such as this is beyond Nature. So much the more is it outside the regions of all art. Only a miracle could effect a change so profound, and, as we know, a miracle, if it were possible, would only be a subversion of natural law and order. This,

then, is the problem that our statesmen in South Africa must face and unravel before attempting in any way to build up a white nation out there. Even a superficial study of the racial problem in the United States will teach us that, as much from the African as from the European standpoint, the two races, both socially and politically, should be kept apart. It is possible that there may be room in Africa for both, but it is improbable. The European could and would certainly reserve for himself all the highest and healthiest high lands and plateaus as alone being climatically fit for his existence. But it is obvious that in the distant future such reserves would be coveted and even disputed by the African.

This native question, believe me, is a big business. It is big with issues. It is far bigger and more complicated than people think. But of all issues the solution of racial supremacy will be the largest and most difficult. It will involve many side issues. But the main and ultimate issue will be as to whether South Africa is to belong to white or black—European or African?

Remember, the country and its physical environment is African. The bulk of the people are also African. Remember, too, that outside South Africa, in the centre and eastward and westward, we have dependencies with a population in round numbers that now amount to over 40,000,000. Outside this, again, there are the French and German territories, that, placing their population at the lowest figure, cannot in the aggregate be less than another 60,000,000. Assuming that this greater Africa only doubles itself in a hundred years, a total of 200,000,000 will constitute a formidable element without the population of South Africa. Admitting that there will be no homogeneity or nationalism between the various units of these 230,000,000, the fact that they are African and of one colour will be common to them. Besides, there is also the possibility that as regards religion the majority will have become Islamic. In addition to these and other bonds political and social,

that will always be in antagonism to the white or intruding element, the spirit of education and of Ethiopianism (I use the word for want of a better) will bring them closer to each other. But more than anything, the problem as to whether Africa is to be the country of the African or the European will arouse in them a sense of opposition, and possibly co-operation. These are contingencies that no statesman can afford either to overlook or despise.

How this great and vital issue can best be solved is, of course, a matter that cannot be worked out all at once or in a hurry. But, in a few words, it is obvious to the man who knows, that the encroachment of Europeans on native territories, or to anything that might lead to racial assimilation, should be put a stop to once and for all. Rhodes, far-seeing and statesmanlike as he was, was of this opinion. It was, in fact, on such a basis—a basis by which certain localities should be reserved for the natives—that he introduced, in 1894, the Glen Grey Act. This measure was only applied to Fingoland and the Glen Grey area. Indeed, its subsequent extension has depended upon the results produced in these districts. Time and experience alone can demonstrate its political value. Still, although an experiment, it was a step in the right direction. If only our statesmen will remember that education, although a leading out of ignorance, an exodus from that land of Ethiopian darkness and bondage, is simply a means, not an end, the problem may be solved. But if (as so far they have persisted in doing) they attempt to Europeanize and Christianize the African, they will defeat their own high purpose. For then, instead of humanizing and nationalizing the African, they will make a paradoxical hybrid of him. In this fatuous and unnatural way they will create in him a still greater antipathy, and make a still greater enemy of him, than if they educated him in a legitimate and natural manner. In plain English, they will cut their own throats and provide him with the very handle that will enable him in the future to achieve his own ends.

## ST. HELENA.

By J. C. MELLISS, M.INST.C.E., F.G.S.

THE island of St. Helena occupies a very commanding position almost in the middle of the South Atlantic, distant 1,100 miles from the West Coast of Africa, 1,700 miles from the Cape, 2,000 miles from South America, and 4,000 miles from Southampton, with no land nearer to it than the small, barren island of Ascension. It is opposite to the splendid bay and harbour of Lobito in Portuguese West Africa, whence a railway is in course of construction to tap the Cape to Cairo line and the rich copper deposits of the African Tanganyika district.

It will thus be apparent that St. Helena is one of the most valuable strategic positions belonging to the British Empire, and as such should not be allowed to fall into the hands of others.

It was first discovered on May 21, 1502, 406 years ago, by the celebrated Portuguese navigator Juan de Nova Castella, and called by him "St. Helena" in honour of the Emperor Constantine's mother, the day of the discovery being the anniversary of her birthday.

The island was at that time, it is said, densely clothed with an evergreen mantle of indigenous vegetation, native gum wood, ebony and other trees, overhanging the seaward precipices.

There were no human occupants of the island at that time, and its discoverer was greeted only by sea-fowl, sea-lions, and turtle. He put on shore some "goats, asses, and hogs," but it was not until eleven years later (in 1513) that the Portuguese began permanently to inhabit it.

They commenced by using it as a State prison, and landed there, at his own request, a military officer of high rank, named Fernandez Lopez, who had fallen into disgrace while serving in India under General Alphonso

Albuquerque. He was accompanied by some negro slaves, and supplied with poultry, partridges, guinea-fowls, and pheasants, as well as plants and seeds, including fig, orange, lemon, and peach trees, and various kinds of vegetable seeds.

This little colony was soon afterwards augmented by several runaway slaves from ships calling at the island and by a Portuguese Franciscan, who elected to take up his residence there.

The Portuguese were anxious to keep their knowledge of the island to themselves, and to continue to use it as a place of call for their ships trading with the East; but Dutch and Spanish ships soon after made a similar use of it, and many and frequent were the fights which took place in the roadstead between these different nationalities.

It was not until eighty-six years after its discovery that it was first visited by the English, when, on June 8, 1588, Captain Cavendish, returning from a circumnavigating voyage, anchored his ship off Chapell Valley (now named "James' Valley," after King James II.). According to his report, he found there "a small settlement, a Roman Catholic church, some handsome buildings, fruits, vegetables, and a great store of partridges, which are very tame, not making any great haste to fly away, also plenty of pheasants, which are very big and fat, and many swine, which are very wild and fat and of great bigness, and seldom will abide any man to come near them."

The ships of the first British trading expeditions to India, including the *Royal Merchant*, commanded by Captain Kendall, and the *Bonaventure*, commanded by Captain Lancaster, soon followed Captain Cavendish in utilizing the island as a place of call, and the attention of the Portuguese being for a time diverted elsewhere, it was taken formal possession of by the Dutch. Their attention also was soon after diverted elsewhere in endeavouring to establish a colony at the Cape, and it was then that the British East India Company, in 1651, took possession of



the island, soon afterwards obtaining a Charter from King Charles II. to secure them in its occupation.

The East India Company spent large sums of money in fortifying and developing the island, and doubtless excited the envy of the Dutch, who returned in 1665, and after a severe engagement succeeded in driving the English out of it.

Following on this, the English and the Dutch had long and bitter struggles, with hard fighting and very clever tactics on both sides, to keep possession of the island. Scarcely twelve months elapsed before the English were again in possession, but the Dutch, in 1673, succeeded a second time in driving them out.

Finally, Captain — afterwards Sir Richard — Munden, R.N., succeeded in recovering possession of it for Great Britain, and it has since remained a portion of the British Empire.

The East India Company, being at last firmly established, spent enormous sums of money on fortifications, barracks, the maintenance of a strong garrison, the construction of roads, waterworks, and other improvements, and governed the place both wisely and well.

Some of the Company's regulations were exceedingly quaint. No lawyer was permitted to remain on the island, lest he should encourage litigation; Quakers also, for some reason or other, were expelled. Chaplains were retained, though they proved a troublesome lot; the pay of one of them had to be stopped in order to bring him back to a right frame of mind when he persisted in omitting the prayer in church for the Governor and Council, on the ground that in his opinion they were not worth praying for.

Slavery continued up to the year 1832, when the Company entirely abolished it at a cost of £28,000; it had been the custom to sell slaves by public auction, their price varying from £40 to £150 each. Their code of punishments, too, was very severe. For merely striking a white person slaves suffered death, and for other offences were

punished by hanging alive in chains, by dropping hot sealing-wax on the naked skin, and by cutting off hands and ears.

Very strict discipline was generally maintained, and on two occasions resulted in a mutiny among the garrison, on one of which the Governor was killed by the mutineers.

The Company held the island for 182 years, until the year 1833, when its government reverted to the Crown.

For the scientist and naturalist *St. Helena* possesses a profound interest. The time occupied in its formation, the manner of that formation as well as the changes through which it has passed before arriving at its present size and shape, together with its unique indigenous flora and fauna, are all matters of the deepest interest.

The formation is entirely volcanic, consisting of very ancient basalts, lavas, and laterite beds, and is typical of those ocean volcanoes such as *Palma* of *The Canaries*, *St. Paul's Island* in the Indian Ocean, and others, which Sir Charles Lyell describes as follows: "Every crater must invariably have one side much lower than all the others—viz., that side towards which the prevailing winds never blow, and to which, therefore, showers of dust and scoria are rarely carried during eruptions. There will always be one point on this lowest side more depressed than all the rest, by which, in the event of a partial subsidence, the sea may enter as often as the tide rises, or as often as the wind blows from that quarter."

Originally *St. Helena* was in area and height much larger than at present. It now measures only ten and a half miles long by eight and a quarter miles wide, with a superficial area of about 30,000 acres. Its coast-line is much indented, measuring some thirty miles, with mountainous and rugged and almost inaccessible precipices from 500 to 2,000 feet in height.

A semicircular central ridge, having a maximum altitude of 2,700 feet, divides the island into two portions. The southern portion, known as "*Sandy Bay*," has the shape of

a huge bowl or crater, some four miles in diameter, with one of its sides broken away down to and below sea-level.

On the north and west side of this ridge the formation slopes gradually away at an inclination of 8 to 10 degrees, terminating in almost perpendicular cliffs, caused by the erosive action of the sea. Seawards from these cliffs for about a mile there is shallow water of 60 to 70 fathoms, but beyond that no bottom is reached at 250 fathoms; and between St. Helena and Africa, as well as between St. Helena and South America, there is a depth of some 2,860 fathoms.

The northern and western portions of the island are built up of alternating layers of very compact basaltic lava, laterite or volcanic mud baked red, ashes, and cinders. Sixty or seventy distinct layers at least can be counted, and if each of these volcanic outbursts occurred, according to Dr. Piazz Smith's estimate, once in a century, it would give something like 7,000 years; but the island, as is evidenced by the deep, water-worn valleys or gorges with which it is intersected, the denudation by atmospheric action and the erosive action of the sea, may well be ten times as old.

The Sandy Bay crater, from which this part of the island originated, is more or less unstratified. It shows evidence of having been, in the long-distant past, rent by subterranean force, and the fissures filled with molten lava from below forming numberless dikes, some of which now bear the name of "Lot," "Lot's Wife," "The Ass's Ears," and "The Chimney."

The eastern portion of the island is somewhat different, and though formed of an equally numerous strata, the lavas are more felspathic in character, and the volcanic mud beds are of a grey colour, containing "pyrolusite," or binoxide of manganese. These are evidently the products of some other crater, the position of which it is difficult to locate. This portion of the island has given rise to the theory that continental land may at one time have existed in this locality.

A small quantity of iron ore has been found, but it, as well as the manganese, is not abundant enough to be of any commercial value.

"The Barn Rock" gives an interesting instance of upheaval, and "High Knoll" is a type of several small volcanic cones. "The Waterfall" also is a good example of an extinct solfatara.

There is no instance anywhere of any quick cooling of lava, nor of any recent volcanic action.

The interior of the island is covered to the extent of some 15,000 acres with a rich alluvial, productive soil, derived from decomposed lava and other volcanic products.

St. Helena is very far from being a barren, unattractive place; on the contrary, it is a most healthy spot, with one of the most perfect climates to be found anywhere in the wide world. It has no extreme heat or cold, and an ample share of bright sunshine. It possesses an abundant supply of pure, fresh water, and the scenery is most varied and very charming. The interior of the island is clothed with rich vegetation of a European and sub-tropical character, including an indigenous flora. Fruits and flowers from every clime abound, and the general character of the scenery much resembles England in the summer-time.

A further reason for placing St. Helena amongst the oldest land on the face of the globe may be found in its remarkable insular indigenous flora and fauna, the origin as well as the partial extinction of which points to vast periods of time, as well as to probable changes of climate.

Darwin, Huxley, Hooker, Wallace, and others have all been sorely puzzled as to the origin of this indigenous flora and fauna of St. Helena. Sir Joseph Hooker says, regarding the flora :

"Neither geological considerations nor botanical affinity, nor all these combined, have yet helped us to a complete solution of this problem, which is at present the *bête noire* of botanists. Oceanic islands are, in

fact, to the naturalist what comets and meteorites are to the astronomer; and even that pregnant doctrine of the origin and succession of life, which we owe to Darwin, and which is to us what the spectrum analysis is to the physicist, has not proved sufficient to unravel the tangled phenomena."\*

There are seventy-seven different kinds of these remarkable indigenous plants, comprising trees, shrubs, flowering plants, and twenty-six kinds of ferns, fifty of which are absolutely peculiar to St. Helena, not being found in any other part of the world, and, as Sir Joseph Hooker says, "cannot be regarded as very close specific allies of any other plants at all."†

In addition to the native flora, upwards of 1,000 other different kinds of plants grow and flourish in the island, all of them imported by some means or another from different parts of the world. There are oak, eucalyptus, fir, Norfolk pine, willow, cypress, bamboo, olive, cotton, tobacco, castor-oil, cayenne pepper, sugar-cane, coffee, tea, indigo, aloes, (*Fourcroya gigantea*), medicinal aloes, sansevieria, New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*), lemon grass, grape, peach, banana, cherimoya, pineapple, mango, tamarind, loquat, guava, granadilla, date, papaw, fig, mulberry, lemon, prickly pear, potato, sweet potato, carrot, cabbage, yam, artichoke, pumpkin, turnip, radish, peas, beans, watercress, roses, geraniums, fuchsias, camellias, jasmine, cannas, hydrangea, gorse, blackberry, everlastings, varieties of grass, ferns, and many others.

The usual domestic animals, as well as rats, mice, and lizards, have all been imported, and thrive well. There is one indigenous land bird (*Ægialitis Sanctæ-Helenæ*), a small variety of plover known as the "wire bird." Other birds have been imported, viz. : pheasant, partridge, pigeon, dove, averdevat, Java sparrow, African canary, mynah, and

\* "Insular Floras," Dr. Hooker, Proceedings British Association, Nottingham, 1863. *Journal of the Linnean Society*, vol. xiii., p. 563, 1873.

† "Island Life," by Alfred Russel Wallace.



cardinal. The sea birds include the tropic bird, man-of-war bird, and various kinds of tern.

There are no fresh-water fish, but no less than seventy-five different kinds of marine fish are found in great quantities, some seventeen of which are entirely peculiar to the place, and have not been found elsewhere.\* Most of the fish are suitable for food, and are very good eating, such as mackerel, albacore, mullet, old wife, jack, silver fish, soldier, bull's-eye, yellow-tail, conger-eel, cavalley, five-finger, and several kinds of shell-fish. There are also sharks, dolphins, and flying-fish.

There are twenty-nine species of land shells, seven of which have been introduced, two of which are doubtful, and twenty of which are truly indigenous, and have not been found elsewhere. Thirteen of these latter appear to be now extinct, being found only in a dead state on the surface of the ground where the native vegetation has disappeared. Amongst these latter is a very remarkable large land snail (*Bulimus auris vulpinæ*), which is very highly prized by collectors, and several smaller *bulimi* and *succinea*, and several beautiful, amber-like species of the latter are still found in a living state, feeding on the native plants on the high land.

The *Coleoptera*, or beetles, of St. Helena are extremely interesting, particularly the nearly extinct large black carabus (*Haplothorax Burchellii*), also greatly valued by collectors. The total number of species observed is 203, but 74 of these have doubtless been introduced by human agency. The remaining 129 are truly aborigines, and, with the exception of one, are found nowhere else on the globe.

Mr. Wallace says that, as they mainly represent species which are specially attached to certain groups of plants, we may be sure that the plants were there long before the insects could establish themselves. However ancient,

\* Proceedings Zoological Society, London, March 26, 1868, and April, 1869. Dr. Günther, F.R.S.

then, is this insect fauna, the flora must be more ancient still.\*

Of termites, or white ants, spiders, crickets, grasshoppers, butterflies, moths, and other life of this kind, St. Helena has its share, some of them being indigenous to the island.

St. Helena has in the past rendered service of incalculable value to the Empire. It would have been impossible for Great Britain without its aid to have so successfully established her trade and possessions abroad. For two and a half centuries the island served as a place of call for the great fleets of British sailing ships, with their scurvy-stricken, worn-out, and often mutinous crews, when it was impossible to make long voyages without a break.

Other services, too, it has rendered from time to time.

In 1676-1677 the celebrated astronomer, Halley, used it for making valuable observations, and again in 1761 it was used by Dr. Maskelyne and Mr. Waddington for the purpose of observing a transit of Venus.

In 1795 the St. Helena garrison assisted the British troops when in conflict with the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, and again in 1805 it sent a reinforcement of 260 men to assist General Beresford's expedition against Buenos Aires, in South America.

In more recent times the British Government found it of the greatest possible value as a place of exile for Napoleon, who with his suite arrived there on October 15, 1815, on board H.M.S. *Northumberland*, commanded by Admiral Sir George Cockburn.

Napoleon's first night on the island was spent in Jamestown in the same house which had been occupied, some years previously, by the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, on his way home from India.

The following day he visited Longwood, and when passing The Briars, the residence of Mr. Balcombe, he expressed a wish to reside there until the house at Long-

\* "Island Life," by Alfred Russel Wallace.

wood was ready for him. Accordingly, for about two months he lived at a portion of The Briars known as The Pavilion.\*

In due course Napoleon removed to Longwood Old House, and on April 14, 1816, Sir Hudson Lowe, his custodian, arrived, and took up his residence at Plantation House.

The garrison was then largely increased, and ships of war were stationed around the island. Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe did not agree very well,† and the former had anything but a pleasant time at St. Helena.

Longwood Old House was intended only as a temporary residence, and the erection of a large, commodious house suitable for Napoleon and his suite was commenced soon after his arrival. Napoleon daily watched its progress, but remarked that he would never occupy it. He never did!

He lived for five and a half years at the Old House, and died there on May 5, 1821. He was buried four days afterwards, with the highest military honours, in a quiet, peaceful, grass-clad spot near to Hut's Gate. His body rested there for nearly twenty years, until October, 1840, when it was exhumed and conveyed to France on board the French frigate *La Belle Poule*, under the command of Prince de Joinville. It now rests in the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris, in accordance with Napoleon's own wish.

In 1858 both Longwood Old House and the tomb near Hut's Gate were purchased by the French Government, restored to good condition, and are kept in order at the present time.

A further very special service which St. Helena rendered to the British Empire during twenty-five years—1840-1865—was as a depôt and Vice-Admiralty Court during the suppression of the slave-trade on the West Coast of Africa. Thousands of liberated slaves were housed, clothed, fed,

\* "Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon I," by Mrs. Abell.

† "The Last Phase," by Lord Rosebery.

and restored to health, and finally sent to suitable employment in the West Indies.

A further service was as a safe place for the custody of Dinizulu and other Zulu chiefs; and again, still later, during the recent South African War, the Imperial Government used it for the detention of General Cronje and some 6,000 Boer prisoners of war who surrendered to Lord Roberts.

A few of the Zulu prisoners connected with the recent disturbances in Natal are still detained in the island.

A further instance of its value to Great Britain is the fact that the island is now one of the most important stations of the "all-British" cable between Great Britain and her African, Eastern, and Australian possessions. This cable was recently constructed by the Eastern Telegraph Company at a cost of £3,500,000.

For the first time in its history the island has been left defenceless owing to the recent removal of the garrison, the only military item there at present being a couple of French soldiers in charge of Longwood Old House and the tomb of Napoleon. Thus one of the most valuable naval positions of the British Empire is at the mercy of any foreign power, while a vast amount of valuable property is falling into ruin.

The British subjects who have made it their home—some 4,000 in number, including 200 whites—have thus lost their chief means of support.

A condition of semi-starvation and much suffering exists amongst most of them. The wives and children of many of the soldiers, who married without leave, have been left behind with no means whatever of support. Medical aid, too, has fallen to a minimum, there being but one doctor remaining.

Very praiseworthy attempts are being made to cultivate New Zealand flax, also to teach the inhabitants the industry of lace-making. Towards these undertakings the Colonial Office has made grants; but some years must elapse before

any of them can become fully remunerative, and in the interval misery and suffering will continue to be the fate of the bulk of the inhabitants, and it is very necessary speedily to hold out a helping hand to the people of St. Helena.

It would, in time of war, be a simple matter to block the Suez Canal, and destroy the main telegraphic lines which pass through foreign countries. St. Helena ought, therefore, to be at any cost retained for Imperial purposes. It is capable of supporting a garrison without external aid; but should it fall into the hands of any hostile power, it would be a matter of extreme difficulty and expense, notwithstanding modern methods and weapons, to regain possession of the island.

NOTE.—A Committee has been formed in London to press for Government action in aid of the island. The President of the Committee is the Hon. M. H. Hicks-Beach, M.P. Subscriptions towards the funds of this Committee are urgently needed, and will be received by Mr. A. G. Wise, Secretary, St. Helena Committee, Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W., or by Mr. J. C. Melliss, Hon. Treasurer, St. Helena Committee, 264, Gresham House, Old Broad Street, London, E.C.—Ed.



## A HYMN OF ZARATHUSHTRA.

YASNA XLVI.

VICISSITUDES, REVENGE, AND VICTORY.\*

BY PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D.

"DE PROFUNDIS."

To what land to turn?—where, with my ritual go?†  
 Of kinsmen, allies, or the mass  
 None to content their service offer me,  
 Nor have they yet who rule the province, evil,  
 How then to please Thee, Mazda, Lord!‡

DISTRESS AND PRAYER.

This know I, Mazda, wherefore soiled I wander  
 My flocks so small,§ and following so feeble;  
 To Thee in grief I cry, behold it, Master,  
 Thy grace vouchsafing me, as friend bestows on friend,  
 Showing with pureness Thy Good Mind's riches best.

HOPE.

When come, Ahura, they, the days' light-givers,  
 Stay of Thy people's Law, and onwards pressing?  
 Wise planning Saviours, they, with potent teaching;  
 To whom for help comes too the Good Mind's server?  
 Thee for my teacher, Ahura, I seek.

\* For Latin verbatim and commentary to this piece see *Gâthas*, pp. 228-276, 547-563, 1892-94. For English prose rendering see *S.B.E.*, xxxi., pp. 130-144. For Introduction with English verbatim see the edition of 1900. This piece stands also approximately prepared in its Sanskrit equivalents, while Yasna XXIX. was presented in that form at the last Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen, which the author attended as a representative of the University of Oxford. See for similar reproductions Roth's "*Festgruss*," 1894, and the *Actes* of the eleventh International Congress of Orientalists at Paris in 1897.

† The later Zoroastrianism not inaptly takes these words, which have become sacrosanct, as the first chant of every departed soul. It (the soul) takes its place near the head of the deceased, and utters them.

‡ His innovations, while they help to compact his party, just in that proportion infuriate his opposition.

§ Flocks and herds were commissariat as well as property.

## DENUNCIATIONS.

Who bear the Law, these saints, the faithless foeman\*  
 From wealth of Herds doth hold, with evil power ;  
 By his own deeds he cheats his folk of weal ;  
 Who him from life and rule shall hurl expelling,  
 Fields for the Kine with prospered skill he spreads.

## REVENGE.

He who as ruler, helps not that assailant,  
 In our religion's creed and treaties faithful,  
 In the right living, may he, pure, to sinners,  
 Aright to prince with threat give warning,  
 " In rising crush they him, O Mazda Lord !"<sup>†</sup>

## THE WICKED'S END.

Who, having power, doth not thus approach him<sup>‡</sup>  
 To the Lie-demon's home, in chains will go ;  
 The wicked's friend is he, and likewise wicked,  
 But righteous he who loves the righteous,  
 Since the primeval laws Thou gavest, Lord.

## THE ONLY HELP.

Whom then as guard, to save us, will they set me,  
 When as his aim, for harm, the wicked marks ?  
 Whom have I then but Thee, Thy Fire, and Meaning ?  
 By deeds of whom Thou shieldest Right,<sup>§</sup> Ahura ;  
 To me this wonder-power, for faith, declare.

## REVENGE IN FULL.

He who my settlements to harm hath given  
 Ne'er may his burning wrath, through deeds, destroy.  
 In hate to him come that, which weal opposeth,  
 That to his body comes, which holds from blessing,  
 May naught, from vengeful wrath, deliver, Lord !

\* The chief of the Daêva-party. It was a struggle between a party still strongly imbued with Vedic feeling and the new school of Zarathushtra.

† See Gâthas, p. 550, for alternatives to this most difficult verse. See also the "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxxi., p. 135.

‡ Approach him to warn, or "approach us to help." See Gâthas, p. 553.

§ The *Asha* party in the struggle.

## CONTRAST.

Who is the offerer who heeds me foremost  
 How in our rites to praise Thee, well to be invoked?  
 Pure for Thou art above us, great Ahura.  
 What, Thine, through Right, declared the Herd's creator  
 That seek Thy saints, as my blest message, Lord.

## APPEALS AND PROMISE.

Who e'er, to me, be it or man, or woman,  
 Our tribes' gift gives which Thou the best perceivest,  
 Prize for the holy gives, with Good Mind's ruling,  
 Whom, praising You, I urge as comrade, leading,  
 Forth to the Judge's Bridge\* with all I go!

## A CURSE AND A SELF-DAMNING.

Karps,† yea, and Kavist‡ are, with foul kings, joining,  
 Deeds which are evil with, man's life to slay;  
 Cursed by their souls and selves, their being's nature,  
 From Judgment's Bridge they fall, the final pathway,  
 In Demon's Home at last their bodies‡ lie!

## A BRIGHTER SIDE.

When Right-inspired, and 'midst Tura's§ kinsmen  
 Come from Fryana forth, 'midst those illustrious,  
 They who Devotion's lands, with Zeal, are helping  
 With these together God, through Good Mind, dwelleth,  
 To them, in helpful grace, commanding speaks.

## TRUE FELLOW-HELP.

Who Zarathushtra gifts, 'midst men, vouchsafeth  
 Righteous is he himself, 'midst men, declared;  
 Life upon him bestows, the Lord Ahura,  
 Farms that are his promotes, with Good Mind helping;  
 Comrade for you, through Right, we think him meet.

\* The Chinvat Bridge, which extended from Mount Alborj over Hell toward Heaven; to the infidels and sinners it becomes narrow so that they fall; but it becomes wide as nine javelins' lengths to the righteous (so the later Zoroastrianism).

† Hostile parties.

‡ Or "their habitation is."

§ Border Turanian allies.

A VOICE FROM THE THRONG.\*

Whom hast Thou thus, O Zarathushtra, righteous ?  
 Who seeks distinction in our holy toils ?  
 'Tis he, th' heroic, royal Vishtâsp Kava ; †  
 Whom in the same abode Thou, Lord, shalt gather,  
 These in the words of Good Mind I invoke !

A GROUP ADDRESSED.\*

To you I speak, O Haechat-aspa, kinsmen,  
 Since things unlawful ye discern and lawful ;  
 By these your deeds ye help the holy State  
 With the primeval laws which Mazda gave ; ‡

STILL PERSONAL.\*

Come, Frashaostra, thou with offerers, Hvogva !  
 With those who seek to bring this land's salvation ;  
 Come where Devotion blends with Holy Justice, §  
 Where lie the Realms desired of good men,  
 Where God in His own might || abides,

THE IDEAL HOLY OF ALL HOLIES.

Where I, in holiest metre, chant the doctrines ; ¶  
 Never the measureless, profane, I'll utter ;  
 Praise with Obedience, and with gifts, I offer ;  
 Who severs keenly each the false, and lawful  
 May He with wondrous Holiness\*\* give heed ! ††

REWARDS HERE EVEN.

Who sanctity to me, concedes for blessing  
 Him of my wealth give I, through Good Mind, best ;  
 Grievs upon him I send, who sends oppressions ;  
 Aright, O Lord, I seek your will to gladden,  
 This is mine understanding's choice and aim.

\* Poetical conception, the piece being prepared for recital before one of the Sacred Festival gatherings ; or, again, as in modern writings, a merely rhetorical expression. † The King.

‡ A line is, curiously, missing here. § *Asha*, or the sacrosanct Law.

|| See Gâthas, p. 561 ; possibly "in His chosen home" or "citadel."

¶ Metre sacred, as in the Veda. \*\* *Asha*, or the sacrosanct Law.

†† See Gâthas, and S. B. E., xxxi., at the place.

## AND ON HIGH.

Who, from the Right, for me, true welfare worketh,  
For Zarathushtra, help, most wished and mighty,  
Him give I the reward, this earth beyond  
With all mind-blessings gained, through holy pasture ;  
These teaching me, O Lord, art Thou most wise !\*

\* See Gâthas, and S. B. E., xxxi., at the corresponding place.



## AN INDIAN ALBUM.\*

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

THERE is in the Bodleian Library an album containing 178 portraits of Hindu rajahs and Muhammadan princes. It is entered in Aufrecht's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. being No. 854, p. 358, but in fact there is no Sanskrit in it, for the short notices of the portraits are in Gujarati. On this account it has now been marked "MS. Gujarati d. 1." The album is valuable in itself, and it has also a curious history, which has not, as yet, been fully elucidated. Bound up with it is a long letter from John Cleland, dated London, July 8, 1760, which professes to explain how the album was acquired. It was addressed, apparently, to a Mr. Everard, a Fellow of Brazen Nose, and seems to have been sent to the Bodleian by another Fellow of the name of Mayo. Cleland's account is that, when he was in Surat, some time before 1740, one of the Mogul generals was, with an army, encamped before the town. Tegh Beg Khān was then Governor of Surat under the Mogul. "On those occasions the general never enters the town himself, but deputes certain officers to the governor under pretext of taking cognizance of his conduct, but in effect to receive a bribe, in form of presents; not to make a strict scrutiny. Tegh Beg, who was far from being on good terms with the Court, being obliged to proportion his present to the need he stood in of absolution for the past and protection for the future, sent the general some lacks of rupees, not less than the amount of three or four hundred thousand. But that such a transaction might not appear too barefacedly, what it always is, a corrupt bargain, the

\* This album is not only interesting in itself, but also as having belonged to the Poet Pope.—ED.

general usually makes the governor some present. On this occasion the general sent Tegh Beg a sabre, etc., together with this book, containing a set of miniature portraits of the successive sovereigns of Indostan for several ages past. . . ."

"This book was by the Governor Tegh Beg made a present to Mr. Frazer\*—the same who, at my instance, translated from a Persian manuscript the account of Shah Nadir's." Here Cleland adds that most of the MSS. which Frazer brought home came from the Royal Library at Ispchen: "Mr. Frazer having parted with this set of pictures to me, I sent it to Mr. Pope, with whom I was then in correspondence." Pope, he adds, thought it too valuable a book to remain in private hands, and so presented it to the Bodleian. Cleland also takes occasion to remark about one of the portraits—viz., No. 157, that of Timur—that it has an appearance of genuineness, as it has the distinctive Tartar lineaments—a broad, flattish face with small eyes.

Cleland's letter is followed by a note of Pope's of a considerably earlier date—viz., 1737, which says: "This book was procured at Surat by Mr. John Cleland, and given to the Bodley Library as a token of respect by Alex. Pope," 1737.

After this there comes an unsigned and undated letter or note, which gives a very different history of the album. It says: "The accompanying collection of portraits was procured by a Banyan merchant, Broker to the Dutch at Surat, upon his going up to Delhi, the present residence of the great Mogull. By making great interest he got permission to have copies† taken from the collection of

\* For a valuable notice of James Frazer, or Fraser, see Mr. Irvine's paper, "R. A. S. J." for 1899, p. 214. He went twice out to Surat, and on the second occasion was a factor there. See also Professor Macdonnell's "Life of Fraser" in the supplement to the "National Dictionary of Biography."

† Probably this account only refers to the portraits of Mogul princes. It is not likely that the broker found at the Mogul Court the fanciful portraits of Judishtir and other Hindus. He must have begun his collection elsewhere.

original paintings, as they are preserved at that Court. By the death of the broker this collection fell, by great chance, into an English gentleman's hands, at a time that Mīrzā Ghulām Muhammad, brother of the Governor of Surat, and the sole manager of all affairs in that city, was inquiring it out as a present to the Ghenim (غنیم) general who was encamped near the city with his forces. All the merchants to whom it has been shown estimated it a great rarity, and the like not procurable in all Surat. . . .

"The sketches of the line of Moguls from Tamerlane inclusive, No. 157 down to Aurangzeb, the last in this collection, are, in all probability, just and true, and they have been compared severally with those loose, detached copies of the same originals." "Since the death of the great prince last named, the Mogulls have been an ignoble herd of inactive, effeminate persons, hebetated with the Poust [*post—i.e., opium*], and entirely in the hands of their first Vizier, confined to their Seraglio."

The writer of the note states that, on his raising a very natural objection to the rudeness and imperfections of the draughts, it was answered that, though Indian artists were inferior to European painters in skill and in knowledge of perspective, yet they were more successful than the latter in the art of catching a likeness. This remark seems to indicate that the writer was someone to whom the album was offered for sale. Mr. Berriedale Keith has suggested in a note in the catalogue that the writer may have been Frazer. But this idea seems negatived by the remark in the note about the English gentleman into whose hands the album fell, and who, I think, must have been Frazer. Whoever the writer was, he evidently was someone well acquainted with Surat, and I should not be surprised if it was Cleland himself. It is true that his account is quite different from that given by Cleland in 1760, but then this was written by him some five-and-twenty years after\* the

\* Cleland left Surat for Bombay in March, 1735-36.

occurrences, and when he may have forgotten the real facts. Certainly the anonymous account is much the more reasonable of the two. Why should a Mogul general present to another Muhammadan a book mainly consisting of the portraits of Hindu rajahs, and how did he come to have a book with Gujarati writing in it? On the other hand, if the compiler of the album was a Surat Banyan, he would naturally fill it with Hindu portraits, and add Gujarati explanations. In the note the general is called a Ghenim general. Ghenim or Ganeem is not given in Hobson-Jobson, but is a term of frequent use in the Surat Records. Etymologically it means a robber or plunderer, being the Arabic غنيم, but it was a name commonly given to the Mahrattas in Western India, just as they were called Bargis in Bengal. In the Surat Records in the India Office for February, 1733, there is a translation of a letter from Damājī Gaikwar, who is there styled "the commanding officer of the Ganeems in this district." This was Damājī No. 2. His letter was to the Chief of Surat, and was written in a very haughty style. It said: "I heard you are a friend and assistant of the Habshis [*i.e.*, the Abyssinians or Siddhis of Janjira], whom good-fortune seems to forsake, and upon this account you bear hatred to Togh Beg Khān. My opinion, upon considering this, is that, as you are a merchant, it cannot be for your interest to be at variance with him, and continued friendship to the former will be very destructive to your nation. I expect that you will return an answer to this immediately, that I may take measures accordingly." Again, under the date of June, 1737, there is mention made of another letter from Damājī, "the commanding officer of the Ghenim." Damājī was then at Songhan, and the Chief of Surat, in commenting on his letter, while himself calling Damājī the commander of the Ghenims, complains that Damājī "called us Ghenims—that is, robbers." In August, 1737, there is a letter from Damājī, apparently to Manakji, the English broker, in which he says: "Your king can do

nothing to us, and yourselves are padjees" (that is, says the comment, "worse than slaves.").

With reference to Damājī's remark about the Abyssinians, it may be explained that Surat, and indeed all Gujarat, was in a state of anarchy at this time. The Siddhis (? Sayyidis) of Janjira had been powerful, but were not a match for the Mahrattahs, and had failed to protect the foreign shippings from the pirates. They were a naval power only, and so could not be the army encamped outside the city referred to by Cleland. Tegh Beg, the Governor of Surat, was a drunkard, and the management of affairs was in the hands of his brother, Mīrzā Ghulām Muhammad, who afterwards had the title of Šafdar Khān. There is a biography of Tegh Beg in the *Maasir-i-Umarā*, i. 504. It is stated there that he was the youngest of three brothers, and that he died in A.H. 1159 (1746). The chronogram was *Gul bakhāk uftād*—"The flower fell into dust." There is also a good deal about Tegh Beg in Sir J. Campbell's account of Surat, vol. ii. of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. He is there called Tegh Bakht, which is also Mill's name for him.

The anonymous note and Cleland's letter do not appear to me to be in the same handwriting, but one or both may be copies. Cleland's handwriting, too, may have changed in the course of twenty years. As a proof of the value of the album, it may be pointed out that the characteristic portrait of Timur prefixed to Major Davy's translation of Timur's Institutes is taken from No. 157 in the album. Possibly the original was that mentioned by Jahangir at the end of the third year of his Memoirs as having been taken by a Byzantine artist. Jahangir objected to that picture as not resembling those of Timur's descendants, but perhaps that was a proof of its genuineness, for, as Cleland remarks in his letter, intermarriages, etc., softened the features of Timur's descendants. The album chiefly consists of portraits of Hindu sovereigns, and begins with Judishtir. But it has also some portraits of Muhammadan princes of the Ghorid (?) line. Among them is a lady,



described in the translation of the Gujarati as Bibbie,\* and as daughter of Rajah Shihābu-ed-dīn. She reigned seven years, eleven months, and nineteen days, and her date is given as 4096 of the Kali Jūg, which would correspond to A.D. 995. The portraits of the Mogul dynasty include Bābar, Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb. From Aurangzeb's being the last on the list, we may probably conclude that the album was compiled before or shortly after the death of that prince (1707). I regret that I was unable to read the Gujarati explanations of the portraits. They are very short, and are followed by English translations.

John Cleland's life is given in the "National Dictionary of Biography," but the writer has not studied the records relating to his Indian career. He speaks only of Cleland's being at Bombay and of his soon leaving it, and says nothing about Surat. Apparently John Cleland was the son of the William Cleland who was Pope's friend, or, at least, his *âme damnée*, and was spoken of as "Pope's man William." He signed, though he is not supposed to have written, two letters in defence of Pope, which have been published in Elwin's edition of the works of the poet. Cleland is also supposed to have been the original of Will Honeycomb of the *Spectator*. There is a note by Pope to Cleland's letter to the publisher of the "Dunciad," which states that Cleland was educated at Utrecht, and served in Spain under Earl Rivers. He died, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, in 1741. The probability that John Cleland was the son of William Cleland is strengthened by the statement in his letter that he was at one time in correspondence with Pope. The word "correspondence" must refer to the fact that Cleland was in India when he sent Pope the album. He is mentioned as being a writer in the Surat Records for 1733, where there is an entry dated September,

\* I cannot identify her. Her father has a Muhammadan name, but is also called a rajah. Possibly the portraits belong to a Malwa dynasty. It can hardly be that the portrait of the lady is meant for that of Sultan Rezra. Her father was Shihābu-el-dīn Actamsh.

mentioning that a Mr. W. Lowther had taken his standing as a writer next to J. Cleland. Probably this Lowther was a relation of the Chief Henry Lowther. Cleland afterwards became a member of the Surat Council, and many of their letters are signed by him. In March, 1735-36, he left for Bombay along with the Supervisor, Mr. Braddyl. It does not appear that he got into any difficulties with the Council in Surat. There was a great disturbance about Henry Lowther the Chief, who was removed, though some of the Council took his part. But Cleland supported Braddyl against Lowther, Robinson, and others, and in November, 1739, there is a reference in the Surat Records to a letter of "Secretary Cleland" being received from Bombay. There is also another reference to a letter of his in the next month, and in the same month there is a statement that Mr. Fraser, "who is well versed in the Persian language," had been requested by the Chief (of Surat) to translate the Emperor's Firmān. The translation is also given. At this time Fraser was not in the Company's service—at least, he was not a factor or a writer—and this may account for the somewhat superior manner of Cleland's reference to him. Whether Cleland got into trouble in Bombay or not, and had to leave the city in a destitute condition, I cannot say, as I have not examined the Bombay records. But his subsequent career was not a creditable one, as he seems to have betaken himself to pornographic literature. He is said to have died in Petty France\* in January, 1789, at the age of eighty or eighty-two. Cleland's most notorious work, "Fanny Hill," is not in the British Museum, but if it has less merit than "The

\* Petty France was in Westminster, and Cleland's house was perhaps the one that had formerly been occupied by his father. A "pretty garden home" in Petty France was once occupied by Milton, and afterwards belonged to Bentham, and had William Hazlitt for its tenant. The name Petty France has now disappeared, and one sympathizes with Mark Pattison when he remarks: "Petty France lost its designation in the French Revolution, in obedience to the childish petulance which obliterates the name of anyone who may displease you at the moment, and became one of the seventeen York Streets of the metropolis."

Memoirs of a Coxcomb," it must be poor indeed. Cleland probably presented the album to Pope in acknowledgment of favours received, for Pope, in a letter of November 3, 1730, wrote to Lord Oxford recommending Cleland, who was then at Christ Church, having been elected from Westminster in 1728. Cleland was probably never in very destitute circumstances, for he enjoyed till his death a pension of £100 a year. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1789 seems to be the source of the biographer in the D. N. B.'s statements about Cleland's quarrel with the Bombay Council. He has not quoted his authority quite correctly, for the words in the *Gentleman's Magazine* are "quarrelling with some of the members of the Presidency of Bombay," words which may, and probably do, refer to the Council of Surat. There is an obituary notice of Cleland in the *European Magazine*, and most of the facts about him have been collected in a book called "The Ancient Family of Cleland," compiled by John Burton Cleland, and published in 1905. But perhaps too much has been written about John Cleland, who hardly deserved a place in the D. N. B. Macaulay has remarked that half a line of Pope has made Caryl immortal, and we may say that a note in Macaulay's "History of England" has done the same thing for Cleland. He is more honourably to be remembered, however, for his being indirectly concerned in the preservation of the album.

NOTE.—Since writing this paper my attention has been called by Mr. William Foster to a long letter by Mr. Karkaria in the *Athenæum* of December 23, 1905. It contains some valuable information, taken chiefly from an article by the Rev. Dr. Anderson. Cleland, it seems, was Portuguese Secretary at Bombay. Perhaps he learnt that language when his father was serving in the Peninsula.

## THE FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CON- GRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT COPENHAGEN AUGUST 14-20, 1908.

As we mentioned in our Report of the Fourteenth International Congress (July, 1905), by Professor Dr. E. Montet, the Fifteenth Congress was held at Copenhagen.

This Congress was under the patronage of King Frederick VIII., Prince Christian, the Archduke Rainer, and Prince Valdemar. The organizing committee consisted of Professor Thomsen, Dr. Franz Buhl, and Dr. Sarauw (General Secretary). Over 300 Orientalists, from Great Britain, Europe, and America, were present. Great Britain was represented by Professor E. G. Browne, of Cambridge, and India by Sir Charles Lyall. Various Universities and Societies were also represented.

The subjects discussed were divided into seven sections. The Congress was opened on Friday, August 14, by Prince Christian on behalf of the King.

### LINGUISTIC SECTION.

Presidents: Professors Pedersen (Copenhagen), Bezzenberger (Königsberg), and the Marquis Giacomini de Gregorio (Palermo). The latter discussed "The Morphological Structure of the Languages of Central Africa." Other communications were read on "The Relation Between the Semitic Languages and those of the Caucasus Mountains," and several cognate subjects under India and Iran. Sir Charles Lyall presented to the Congress a large collection of works on behalf of the Indian Government. Dr. Coomara-Swamy (Ceylon), a paper on "The Influence of Greece upon Indian Art." Dr. Grierson gave a report on "The Progress of the Linguistic Survey of India since the last Congress." The Indian MSS. in the libraries of Copenhagen were exhibited by Professor Andersen. Mr. F. O. Oertel's account of the excavations

near Benares was of special interest in consequence of the discovery of another column of King Asoka. Other papers were on a "Vedic Concordance," "The Development of Moral Ideas in Zoroastrianism," etc. Mrs. Rhys Davids read a paper on "Buddhist Philosophy: Buddhism in the Orient before and after Christianity, by Count Angelo de Gubernatis, of Rome."

#### CHINA AND JAPAN.

Presidents: Professors Giles (Cambridge), Hirth (Columbia University), and De Groot (Leyden). Professor Fisher (Kiel) described with lantern slides "Chinese Sculptures of the pre-Buddhist Age of the Dynasty of Han in the Shan-tung Province." Considerable interest was aroused by Professor Hirth, who restated his theory of the identification of Fulin, the problematical land whose legates are mentioned in Chinese history. Mr. Ouang-ki-Tseng, Attaché of the Chinese Legation at Paris, gave an account of "Recent Progress in China in the Translation of European Scientific Works." The Rev. Arthur Lloyd, of the Asiatic Society of Japan, treated on "The Points of Contact between Japanese Buddhism and the West."

#### SEMITIC LEARNING.

In this section Islam formed a separate sub-division under the charge of Professor Browne and Professor Goldziher (Budapest). A special committee was appointed to consider the preparation of a lexicon of classical Arabic. A paper was read by Professor Goldziher on "Neo-Platonic and Gnostic Elements in the Hadith." Several other papers were read on Arabic inscriptions and travels and old pre-Islamic legends. The other sub-division comprised Hebrew, Aramaic, and Assyrian.

Dr. Yahuda of Berlin delivered an elaborate lecture on "The Samaritan Book of Joshua," which has been recently discovered and published by Dr. Gaster, and referred, for further particulars, to his paper in the *Proceedings of the*



*Berlin Academy*, No. xxxix, where the technical details are given at length.

A good deal of excitement was caused by the papers delivered of Professor Paul Haupt of Baltimore. Under the title, "The Boundaries of Palestine and the Race of the Galileans," he advanced a theory which he had recently propounded at the Historical Congress at Berlin, and which he expects to state, from another aspect, at the Congress of Religions at Oxford.

#### EGYPT AND AFRICA.

Under this heading, the meeting was presided by Professor Erman of Berlin, M. René Basset of Algiers, and Mr. Percy Newberry of Liverpool. Professor Erman read a paper on "The High Priest Osorkon," and stated the progress that had been made in the Egyptian Lexicon in course of preparation in Berlin. Dr. Ranke, of Steglitz, dealt with the "Cuneiform Transcription of Egyptian Vowels." Professor Mahler (Budapest) spoke on "The Principles of old Oriental Chronology." An account of "The Life-Work of Sir Peter le Page Renouf" was contributed by Professor Valdemar Schmidt, of Copenhagen. He also described the Egyptian monuments preserved in the Glyptotek.

#### GREECE AND THE EAST.

Presidents: Professor Lambrose of Athens, and Krumbacher of Munich. The former read a paper on "The Jews in Greece during the Middle Ages." M. l'Abbé Nau referred to the great international collection of Christian Oriental texts—"Patrologia Orientalis." It will contain a complete series of Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, and Syriac texts, and will form a valuable contribution to early Christian research. Professor Merk (Holland) discussed "Greek Influence in the oldest Armenian Biblical MSS.," and Professor Carolides of Athens on "The Persian and Arabian Sources in Byzantine Chronicles."

## ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE OF THE ORIENT.

Presidents: Count de Gubernatis (Rome), Dr. Ignaz Kunos (Budapest), and Dr. S. Fries (Stockholm). A paper was read by Dr. W. A. de Silva (Ceylon) on "Ceremonies connected with Black Magic among the Sinhalese," and Colonel Snessareff (St. Petersburg) on "The Awakening of Nationalism in Asia."

At a general meeting at which the King of Denmark was present, Professor Pischel introduced Dr. A. von Lecoq, who gave an extremely interesting account, illustrated with lantern slides, of the Royal Prussian Expedition to Chinese Turkestan. Many valuable archæological and epigraphical discoveries were made, and much material was collected of great importance on early Manichæism and Buddhism.

The concluding sitting of the Congress was held on Thursday, August 20, when the invitation from Athens for the Congress of 1911 was announced by Professor Spiridion Lambros, and cordially accepted.

Kind hospitality was given by the University and Municipality of Copenhagen to the members, as well as by individual citizens; also free conveyances and admissions to museums and other places of interest, as well as excursions to Elsinore and its environs. The Congress concluded with a banquet, at which it was expressed that it had been one of the most successful both as regards useful work and social intercourse among the various nations represented.

*(The above synoptical statement is based on the communication of the Special Correspondent of the Times.)*

## PROGRESS IN INDIA.

BY R. E. FORREST.

WE welcome this third edition \* of Mr. Beauchamp's translation of the great legacy of the Abbé Dubois, which now forms the standard edition of the book, as showing that the value of the work has been recognized, that it is being read. This noble fruit of the Abbé's thirty years in India is here presented in excellent form; in a volume agreeable to handle, well printed, in large clear type, and well bound: we like a well-bound book. A short notice of the work would now be only with reference to its form, and not its substance. The great, peculiar value of the latter has been fully recognized. We have already in these pages spoken of its importance, of its "standard value." It has been characterized as a "remarkable work," "an invaluable work," "a grand book," "a real book." It is a first-hand book; a record of immediate personal experience, so it possesses an intrinsic, permanent value; it is an illuminator of the past; a valuable historical document, giving information which it alone can give. Such writings, whether long or short, whether inscribed on stone, or brick, or leaves, or skin, or paper, which rescue something from oblivion, give us a glimpse into the backward stretch and dark abysses of time, have an incalculable value, one that the passage of time does not diminish, but augment. They give us facts in place of fancies, the real instead of the conjectural.

To give some extracts from the book:

"This estimation of the wealth of India has been commonly accepted in Europe up to this present day; and those who, after visiting the country and obtaining exact and

\* "Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies," by the Abbé J. de Dubois; translated from the author's later French MS., and edited, with Notes, Corrections, and Biography, by H. K. Beauchamp, C.I.E., with a Prefatory Note by the Right Hon. F. Max Müller, and a portrait. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.

authentic information about the real conditions of its inhabitants, have dared to affirm that India is the poorest and most wretched of all the civilized countries of the world, have simply not been believed."

"For about three months of the year almost three-quarters of the inhabitants of the Peninsula are on the verge of starvation."

"It must be confessed that the imagination of the Hindus is such that it cannot be excited except by what is monstrous and extravagant."

"The above is only a slight sketch of the religious ceremonies of the Hindus. Whatever may have been the shameful mysteries, the revolting extravagances of paganism, could any religion be filled with more insane, ignoble, obscene, and cruel practices?"

"During this long space of time many barbarous races have emerged from the darkness of ignorance, have attained the summit of civilization, and have extended their intellectual researches almost to the utmost limits of human intelligence; yet all this time the Hindus have been perfectly stationary. We do not find among them any trace of mental or moral improvement, any sign of advance in the arts and sciences. Every impartial observer must, indeed, admit that they are now very far behind the peoples who inscribed their names long after them on the roll of civilized nations."

"Well, the truth is, all these beautiful fabrics are manufactured in wretched thatched huts built of mud, twenty to thirty feet long by seven or eight feet broad. In such a work-room the weaver stretches his frame, squats on the ground, and quietly plies his shuttle, surrounded by his family, his cow, and his fowls. The instruments he makes use of are extremely primitive, and his whole stock-in-trade could easily be carried about by one man. As to the manufacturer himself, his poverty corresponds to the simplicity of his workshop. There are in India two or three large classes whose only profession is that of weaving. The

individuals comprising these classes are, for the most part, very poor, and are even destitute of the necessary means for working on their own account. Those who deal in the products of their industry have to go to them money in hand, and often, bargaining with them, are obliged to pay them in advance. The weavers then go and buy the cotton and other necessities with which to begin work. Their employers have to supervise their work, and keep a sharp look-out lest they decamp with the money, more especially if the advance be large."

The industry must have been carried on under these conditions always. In the manufacture of most articles the actual maker—the workman—occupies, and has always occupied, the position of a wage-earner only. But at the period when the Abbé wrote, the first quarter of the last century, the weaver had begun to suffer, also, from the working of the new machines which were about, in a new world, which they helped largely to produce, to supersede the old-world machines of the spinning-wheel and the handloom. The good Abbé Dubois inveighed furiously against these, their inventors, and their users. But the wheels of the chariot cannot be stayed.

Improvement, progress, imply, involve, supersession of existing old forms of industry. This may come slowly, rapidly, or with a leap; it may mean slight loss of profits, great loss of profits, loss of the means of subsistence. It is a most grievous thing when a workman finds that his handicraft can no longer procure him a living wage. He cannot turn easily to a new one; it was in this one that he had the inherited, the acquired skill; he had grown old in it; most forms of industry are always crowded. He was like an animal tethered to graze on a certain spot, changes in whose productiveness might cause it to pass from sufficiency—if only a bare sufficiency—of food to poor living, to starvation. And in India the tether was of a very great strength, for among its strands were religion and caste.



The Indian weaver suffered. So did his fellow craftsman, the English hand-loom weaver—he more, for he was nearer the new eruptive force; it overwhelmed and destroyed him. In his case it was like beholding the dying struggles of the tethered animal. Great writers have left us pictures of it. The great new forces of steam and machinery came with a leap; they produced a crash in the old industrial economy of England. As is always the case with such changes, the immediate and individual, or class, suffering was followed by enormous, wide-spread gain. The gain was not only to the rest of the community, to the consumers, but to the class affected—to the producers—too; the command of more powerful mechanical agencies enlarged the sphere of the industry. Because of its greater distance, because India is a large country, its people conservative, the introduction of the new steam-driven machinery in place of the hand-loom did not “overwhelm and destroy” the Indian hand-loom weavers as it did the European; though it was expected to lead to their ultimate extinction. But when its effects reached them it hurt them, in some places very seriously. The writer can remember a place where, fifty years ago, the changed, distressful condition of the weavers awoke general commiseration, and excited his own keen sympathy. It was an ancient city, the seat of the manufacture of a special kind of cloth called after its name, and much used for clothing by the women of the lower classes. It had its special Weaver Quarter. As the main roads from Calcutta and Bombay passed through the city, and it had a large European population, the new machine-made English cotton and woollen goods found their way to it in large quantity. After-experience showed the writer that, too sympathetic, he had made the mistake of extending the local distress of the weaver class to the whole land. Twenty years afterwards in the place itself the Weaver Quarter still subsisted, was still inhabited by weavers. Thirty years further on, and it still remained, and the writer, now away from India, reads the statement that the importation

of English textile fabrics into the province of Bengal had fallen off because of increased local manufacture. The weaver class shows large in the numbering of the land, in the census.

The produce of the hand-loom is no insignificant quantity. The Indian weaver and his hand-loom have survived; they have not been extinguished; they are appearing as rivals to the English weaver and the power-loom. This is a most remarkable industrial fact. To what is it due? We will not put any one thing first and foremost, but we will begin by saying that it is due to British rule. The loss in the foreign markets has been more than compensated by the gain in the home markets, arising from that rule. It has given peace and security. The book of the Abbé Dubois shows the extraordinary insecurity that prevailed in his day. There have been before areas of fair security round a strong central power, but never before has there been such absolute security over so wide an area. It has bestowed the industry-improving boons of law and justice. There has been an enormous improvement in the means of communication under it—in most cases an improvement as great as that of General Wade, who substituted something for nothing. Fifty years ago the present writer substituted a cart-road for an ancient bridle-path, for an ox and camel path; within the last five years a railway has supplanted the cart-road. Let the reader find out the difference between the load that a pair of bullocks can carry on their backs and that they can haul in a cart; also how many oxen and camels would be needed to carry the load of a goods train. Let him think how great a part the rolling of the wheel has played in the destiny of man. The Abbé Dubois states that the carriage of goods was then wholly on the backs of bullocks. Let the reader consider the difference in speed, security, and cost between the three modes of transportation. It was only articles of great value in small bulk that could be sent to great distances. Now the area of the markets for the enormously greater number

of articles of ordinary use and consumption, whose bulk is large in comparison to their value, is enormously increased. The products of the soil, of manufacture, such as weaving, can now be sent to distant markets, to places of most demand. The cultivator can now profit to the full by his surplus harvests. There has been a great increase in the purchasing power of the whole community. There have been sad bad cases in which the cultivators of a whole district have been made poorer by our fiscal policy; but this has been remedied, and there is no doubt of the increase in their prosperity as a class. Native observers have remarked that now in the Punjab the wives of the cultivators wear gold ornaments; that with the same class in Bengal gold and silver ornaments are taking the place of copper and pewter; that they and their husbands dress better—too well. Why, the men use umbrellas, formerly the privilege of men of station! The importation of umbrellas from England has been, and is, extraordinary. We had an intimate knowledge of the rural parts of the tract between the Ganges and Jumna for a long course of years, and the manifest change in the landscape was in the improved dress of the folk in the fields, in the rise of the brick temples in the villages.

Then, the labourers, the artificers, mechanics, and artisans—the diggers and excavators, brickmakers, masons, stonecutters, carpenters, thatchers, smiths, painters, and so on—have been afforded by us employment such as was never known in the land before. Thousands of miles of roads, railroads, canals and their distributaries have been constructed. Thousands of miles of avenues have been planted. Innumerable structures, large and small, have been constructed in connection with the civil and military administration: public offices, court-houses, gaols, police-stations, hospitals, dispensaries, schools, colleges, University buildings, post and telegraph offices, barracks, arsenals, forts—in connection with the road, the railway, and the irrigation departments; with the Forest Conservancy; with the Educa-

tion Department. The construction of the great canals has afforded thousands of workmen of every class constant employment for ten or twelve years ; great works, regulators, bridges, aqueducts, have been built on them. We have built hundreds of bridges—some splendid ones—across the great rivers in the province which was the scene of my own service. Let anyone look at a large-scale map of the Ganges—Jumna Doâb—and see how it is covered with lines representing roads, railroads, canals, and their subsidiary channels. We knew that map when all these lines were wanting on it. In that tract there was only one permanent bridge—not a very efficient one—which existed before the time of our rule. An enormous number of private buildings have been erected.

The commercial classes have increased greatly in number and in wealth ; so have the manufacturing. Living in the period between the old times and the new, one was able to observe the condition of the industrial arts in the former : some few articles of supremely beautiful workmanship, most of supremely poor—poor in material, poor in make, inefficient in use ; in one or two cities in a great province the excellent—says super-excellent—manufacture of some one article—a textile fabric, jewellery, inlaid work ; but throughout the length and breadth of it all, the ordinary work in metal or wood or leather, as weaving, or as pottery, is of the roughest and poorest kind—all the workmanship concentrated on some few articles of luxury, not on those of comfort and convenience ; these are wanting or defective in the most extraordinary degree. I can recall the extravagant delight with which the present of an ordinary English gallipot was welcomed by a housewife in a native village, and I understood then why a mystic virtue was held to attach to certain vessels of superfine glaze, and why gallipots came to form a part of the consignments of the East India Company. But now well-equipped workshops are beginning to be established. The Indian workman has now at his command tools which will make the result of his

handicraft more perfect and more profitable—add to its dignity and delight.

India once held a high place in the supply of Western lands with her products and manufactures—with fabrics which were very delicate and beautiful, of high artistic value, of great use and service. No one wishes to depreciate that ancient commerce, but it is often written about extravagantly. The Hindu mind is prone to exaggeration, as shown by its products. It is easier to write poetically about a subject than accurately. The question is, What was the volume of that foreign trade? Many very beautiful manufactures are carried on in very small places, and by quite a small number of people. What was the load capacity of the vessels and animals that bore that ancient traffic? It did not produce any great ports, any great sea-marts: in short, as the ships, the oxen, and the camels were to steamers and railroads; as Masulipatam, Calicut, and Surat were to Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, so was the old foreign trade of India to the new. Delhi was a great land-mart. Its position made it for ages, as it keeps it now, the central point of India. On it concentrated trade. It is a greater mart, a richer city, to-day than it was ever before. Some few of the old manufactures, those of a very special character, have died out—even in England the manufacture of bows and arrows has diminished, that of sedan-chairs died out—but we believe that most of the indigenous manufactures that were active at the entrance of our rule have been more active under it. There has been no cessation of their trade among the jewellers and miniature painters and embroiderers and metal-workers of Delhi, but rather an augmentation of it.

There has been a vast increase of well-paid employment in the service of the State—service carrying pensions—in the large native army, in the arsenals; in the civil administration, in the Revenue and Judicial Departments; in the police, the gaols, the Excise, the opium; in the Post-office, on the telegraphs; on the roads and railroads and canals;



in the Forest Department ; in the Education Department. There has been a great increase in private employment.

There has sprung up a new class, consisting of surveyors ; doctors ; clerks, cashiers, and accountants in bank and commercial firms, in various private enterprises ; merchants and bankers ; journalists ; schoolmasters ; contractors. Various grades of employment are afforded in the mills, the mines, the great workshops.

The weavers could not have survived unless they had found purchasers for their goods, and the number of purchasers of all goods, whether of native or foreign manufacture, has vastly increased.

Then, there have been causes connected with the manufacture itself, with the weaver. If the machinery in England has injured the Indian weaver in one way, it has helped him in another : it has supplied him with yarn which is much cheaper than the local hand-spun yarns. In some places, owing to Englishmen turning their attention to the matter, there have been some improvements made in the hand-loom. And last, but not least, the survival has been due to the cheap living of the weaver, to the cheapness of his power. A man's arm cannot compete with the steam-hammer, but his one-man-force is as competent for the throwing of the shuttle as steam-power, and it has the advantage of being guided by human intelligence ; in weaving, therefore, it comes to be a question of comparative cost between the two : the weaver-force is cheap. Then the Indian weaver has known the taste of his customers ; he has woven the same cloth, imprinted on it the same patterns as have been in use from time immemorial. That living at the same low level, the repetition of the same few mechanical operations through countless lifetimes must have a very dulling effect. But now the weaver is educated : he learns to read, write, and cipher ; his intelligence is quickened, his capacity for managing his own affairs improved. Let us give him all the personal credit due for his survival in the sharp struggle—for his patient endurance,

for his simple living, for his readiness to make use of the cheaper material placed within his reach.

The problem of the future is the struggle between the white and the dark races—not on the field of battle, but in the field of industry. The white working man is keenly conscious of this. The weapon of the dark men is their cheapness. We wish the white men the fullest command of the comforts and conveniences of life, but they may do themselves injury by setting too high a price on their labour. Gambling and drink should not be counted among the necessities of life. The white workman deserves a higher wage because he is a more valuable workman. An English navvy or bricklayer can do four times the work of a native of the same class. England has taken the lead in the industrial world because of the superiority of her workmen. The climatic conditions that reduce the needs of the Indian workman reduce also his energy of mind and body. At the Industrial Conference at Benares it was said: "India can never become a great industrial nation until its labour improves." Again, "The disability our industries lie under is the poor quality of our labour." Then comes the question we have put in these pages before: "To what extent will improved conditions of living counteract the inimical climatic conditions, and produce a stronger man?" But, so do human things hold together, improved conditions of living would mean higher wages; and if the cost of hand-power rose "above the point at which the requisite mechanical power can be produced," the hand-loom would disappear. But it is here now, and that that should be so, when it has almost wholly disappeared in Europe, is a matter of deep interest—a fact worthy of notice and consideration.

## PAPER AND PRINTING IN CHINA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE recent discoveries of Dr. M. A. Stein in the neighbourhood of Khoten have had the unexpected effect of clearing up several mysteries in connection with ancient Chinese literature. It will be remembered that, in his paper read before the Royal Geographical Society on June 16, 1902, he spoke of having found at Niya "numerous narrow pieces of wood bearing Chinese characters," mostly, it appears, from 8 to 9 inches in length, and carrying upon them each but one single line of written character. He also found amongst these slips of wood a pencil of tamarisk wood surmounted by a knob of bone. The key to all this is to be found in the Chinese histories, which state that the people of Khoten "use pencils made of wood, and have kept by them the letters and commissions received from China ever since the date [corresponding to] B.C. 120." The oldest of the wooden slips discovered by Dr. Stein bears the Chinese date equivalent to A.D. 269, at which date the Indo-Scythians of Afghanistan, or Ephthalites, were supreme in the Kashgar-Khoten region, and the new Chinese dynasty which had just succeeded to the Dragon Throne was quite unable to assert itself by force of arms in those Central Asian parts. Another statement found in sixth-century history is that the authorities of Khoten use jade as a seal with which to imprint their wooden tablets.

These interesting coincidences of contemporary exploration with the official statements of the old Chinese annals, have led several earnest students, notably M. Chavannes, of Paris, to examine more critically the innumerable casual statements scattered here and there over the dynastic histories; and the result has been to establish revised and much more accurate notions upon the subject of ancient

penmanship and writing materials than even the Chinese themselves have ever been able to gather, from a comparison of vague and conflicting statements of fact, since the total destruction of their literature over 2,000 years ago.

It is now absolutely certain that neither clay, leather, parchment, nor the papyrus was at any date ever used by the ancient Chinese for the purpose of making records, which fact alone goes far to negative any prehistoric connection with Egypt, Babylonia, or Persia; touching which, moreover, there is not the faintest specific evidence to be found either in Eastern or Western records. It seems also equally certain that the Chinese never used a metal style to scratch characters upon wood, bamboo, or palm-leaves, as natives of India—for instance, Banyan bankers—may be seen doing any day, even now, not only in India itself, but also in Singapore, and, perhaps, Hong-kong. What the Chinese used was a stick or style of bamboo, such as one or two of the older historians describe as being very like the Chinese joiners' "ink-stick" or "wooden stick and line" of the sixteenth century (when first mentioned), and also like that of to-day. The ancient Chinese carpenters, it may be observed, used a red string for marking wood, and the very modern ones often use a European-made coloured lead pencil. As there were and are no bamboos in Khoten, the natives, and probably also the Chinese, of that place, in imitating as best they could their own bamboo slips and styles, had perforce to avail themselves of the tamarisk, a tree which the Russian traveller Przewalski found thirty years ago all over the Tarim valley. From the most ancient times ink had been employed in China chiefly for the purpose of branding the foreheads of criminals; but it had also been used, concurrently with varnish, for inscribing bamboo and wooden tablets with written communications. Presumably the ink was the same in both cases. Everyone who has travelled in China knows what Chinese varnish is, and in many cases European residents have suffered severely from eye and skin affections brought on by living

too soon in the confined atmosphere of a room or amongst furniture that has been recently varnished by a native carpenter. The tree which produces this varnish, the *Aleurites vernicia*, may be seen growing nearly all over the Yangtze valley, and its product is of great value for coating ships' bottoms, lighting purposes, making umbrellas, ink, and potash, manuring the fields, etc.

For books nothing but bamboo seems to have been used, except that records of dynastic importance and state laws were also occasionally cast from moulds upon metal tripods in order to secure permanency. As the bamboo stem is usually no thicker than a brandy bottle, it follows that the plane surface available for writing characters could never be very broad; accordingly, we find that the most important works, such as the classics, were written upon slips of pared bamboo about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  English feet long, and about 1 inch broad. Works of rather secondary importance were inscribed on narrower strips of half the length. Books of quite secondary value were written upon pieces of the size discovered by Dr. Stein at Niya, near Khoten. It was the exception rather than the rule in ancient times for there to be more than one column of characters written upon one slip, and at no period were both sides of the slip ever inscribed with the text of the work, though it appears that notes and memoranda to refresh the memory were sometimes informally jotted down on the back of a slip. The number of ideographs on each piece of bamboo varied with the importance and dignity of the subject, but in no case does it appear to have exceeded thirty. These bamboo laths would therefore resemble our variously-graded modern box-wood paper-knives, and it may be reasonably supposed that four of the smallest would about go to the ounce—say, 100 words to the ounce, or from 1,000 to 2,000 to the pound, according to the size of the strips. Thus, an average book of one volume, as issued by a modern European publisher—say Viscount Morley's "Voltaire"—would weigh the best part of a hundredweight; and, as a



matter of fact, we read that the great revolutionary and exceedingly industrious Emperor who destroyed nearly all the Chinese literature in B.C. 213 is distinctly stated to have "weighed himself out exactly a hundredweight of documents to read in one day."

Previous to the recent discoveries of Dr. Stein, our chief authorities for what an ancient Chinese book was like are the statements of historians of the first, second, and third centuries of our era, when a number of ancient books were unearthed, after centuries of concealment, from tombs and hiding-places. Every single one of these books consisted of bamboo strips of one of the kinds above described, written in varnish usually, but occasionally also in ink, and tied together in "chapters" or bunches by strings of leather or silk running through one end of the bamboo, very much after the fashion of our "books" of baggage-tickets, as we buy them, bound together by a brass eyelet-hole. It had, up to quite recently, been taken for granted by Europeans, and also, to a certain extent, by Chinese historians, that the knife had been used in ancient times to carve characters upon wood. This erroneous view was the consequence of scribes and secretaries in the old days being described as "clerks of the knife and style." But it is now clearly established beyond doubt that the curved knives, each forming the one-sixth segment of a circle, were used for erasing the varnish characters in cases of error, or for cutting notches in the indenture contracts, the form of which will be presently explained.

But, in addition to the books thus formed of piles of bamboo strips tied together by a cord—and often, it seems, enclosed, chapter by chapter, in light bamboo cases or boxes for further protection—slabs of wood, about a foot square, were extensively used for Acts of State, notices, orders, proclamations, and so on, provided not more than 100 words were employed. It is said of Confucius that, when seated in his bullock-cart, he always "bowed to the man carrying squares"; by this is meant that, "whenever he met a police-

man or runner carrying on his back or shoulder a number of official documents issuing from the prætorium, he invariably saluted respectfully," just as the modern Chinese do when an imperial courier gallops up. There were other wooden and bamboo slabs, of sizes intermediate between the "squares" and the "books," used for various purposes, such as visiting-cards, private letters, summonses, altar names (these last still in use in every Chinese temple, and also in most respectable private dwellings), appointments, warrants, commissions, and so on; but all this, interesting though it be, sheds no new light upon the specific question of writing materials.

The revolutionary Emperor of B.C. 213 did not confine his energies to reading 80,000 words a day, and destroying all the literary men and their works when he found them getting athwart of his ambitious plans; he also did his best to standardize the irregular forms which the various kingdoms he annexed had given to the ideographs. This led to the immediate simplification of the written character, two new modifications of which at once came into use, one of the two being specially intended for the use of the police and the clerks; it bears some analogy to the short Babylonian as compared with the Babylonian hieroglyphics, or the demotic Egyptian as compared with the ideographs. Meanwhile, his chief General, Mêng T'ien, was employed in extending the Great Wall of China by means of forced labour; and, finding himself, in consequence, in a region where bamboos were at a discount, conceived the idea of substituting hares' hair for the pencil tip instead of the "chewed" bamboo, or otherwise softened and spread-out bamboo tip, which used to be dipped in varnish or ink.

It had already been the occasional practice—and this apparently from the most ancient times—in China to write with the varnish-stick upon fine silken materials; but this was too expensive a luxury to indulge in for ordinary purposes, and the practice seems to have been limited to funeral

banners for stationing before the altar names ; pictures, and drawings ; first-class ambassadorial commissions, and so on. It is particularly stated that the imperial seal could only be applied to silk, and not to wood or bamboo ; hence, perhaps, the subsequent importation of jade from Khoten. The ancient and unsimplified characters had often been styled " tadpoles," because the nature of the old bamboo style necessitated the tapering off of each stroke, as the style was every few moments taken off the writing material by the scribe. But now the simplification of the characters, the 50 per cent. reduction in the number of strokes, the discovery that the hair pencil could mark thick and thin with great elegance, precision, and variety, and the development of the silk industry, stimulated ingenious persons to fashion a kind of " silk shoddy " out of selvages, remnants, and other waste products. It is specifically stated that between A.D. 10 and A.D. 20 a statesman named P'ing Yen, otherwise known as the " Eastern Earl " (there was a corresponding Western Earl), displayed great ability in the manufacture of silk paper, which for the past two centuries had already, but not very largely, replaced bamboo for writing purposes. This " paper " seems to have been written upon chiefly with ink, and not with varnish, for it is mentioned in connection with two superior qualities of pencil-brush and ink, manufactured by two individuals named Chang Ch'ih and Jen Kih respectively. In the year A.D. 105, however, a certain Ts'ai Lun, anticipating, in a way, the discovery of the late Lord Masham, conceived the idea of utilizing the waste products of the silk manufacture, the " heads " of hemp, old fishing-nets, and cloth rags for the purpose of turning out a much cheaper material than the silk paper hitherto in use ; and from that day to this paper, including in the modern forms mulberry paper, bamboo paper, and many other coarser kinds, has slowly but surely superseded all other materials used for writing upon ; except, of course, for purposes of elegance and luxury, and except for religious and superstitious purposes, where the old wooden and

bamboo tablets are still maintained in use, as stated above.

But, although paper began to displace bamboo very early in our era, the Chinese made use of bamboo and wood concurrently with paper for several centuries; just as, subsequently to the invention of easier forms of writing, they had used writing concurrently with the old tallies or indentures. The modern word for "deed" is still "indenture," as it is with us, although the Chinese indenture was not a serrated or wavy line separating into two parts one piece of parchment, but was a number of notches cut with the segment knife across the line separating two slabs of wood or bamboo which had been placed together, the seller and buyer, the mortgager and mortgagee, each keeping one. The very word *dent* or "tooth" is used by the Chinese historians who describe these contracts or indentures, which in their turn had replaced the still more ancient *quipu* or knotted cord system, used before writing was understood in any form.

When paper, the hair-brush, and the ink-slab had fairly taken root, various enterprising persons set about improving the quality of writing ink, the manufacture of which out of varnish soot, fir charcoal, and other ingredients had already become a fine art in the third century after Christ. The next step towards printing was taken much sooner than is commonly supposed. It had long been the practice of literary men to take paper rubbings of ancient inscriptions and calligraphic specimens cut into stone. This process, of course, left the characters it was desired to copy white, whilst the body of the paper pressed or rubbed on to the inked surface of the stone was black. The converse plan of cutting away the "Hinterland" of a stone block and allowing the body of an inscription to stand out in a raised form is known to have been practised as early as A.D. 593, when (to use the identical Chinese words) certain "images" (probably of Buddha) and "scriptures" (it is not stated whether Chinese or Sanskrit) were ordered by the Emperor

of a new and very enterprising dynasty to be "carved upon wooden slabs." During the period 618-906 (dates are not to be procured exactly) it is certain that books of secondary importance were "printed upon paper" from "wooden blocks," and "sold in the book-shops." Curiously enough, it was a Turkish Emperor ruling in North China to whom officially belongs the honour of printing the Confucian classics for the first time in 932. He belonged by descent to the tribe of Turks which nearly 300 years later became allied by marriage to Genghiz Khan; and, in fact, Marco Polo mentions the tribe in his chapter upon Tenduc (North Shan Si), but mistakes the "King" of this tribe for "Prester John." The Turkish Emperor's name was Maokiré, but he is more commonly known, of course, by his Chinese appellation of Li Sz-yüan. A statesman of his, naturally with his approval, "revised and corrected the Nine Classics; had them carved upon wooden blocks; printed, sold, and circulated them throughout the empire." This statesman's name was Fêng Tao. This Turkish Dynasty was but an ephemeral one, belonging to the second of what are known as the "Five (Short) Dynasties." The founder of the last of these five, in or about 954, fully carried out the work thus begun in 932, and "from this time scholars were absolved from the heavy labour of copying books out." Movable types of baked clay are mentioned during the reign period 1041-1049; an iron slaie or framework was placed over a smooth board, and the types were dropped through holes in the slaie upon the board. Movable types of copper were in use during the Dynasty which preceded the reigning Manchus—*i.e.*, during the period 1368-1643; but no precise dates are obtainable.

There is much more to be said about pencils, ink, paper, and printing in China, and with the permission of the editor we shall perhaps resume the inquiry later on.

The Museum of our own Record Office contains both indentures and split notched tallies similar to those of old China, and the modern bamboo fan was evidently an out-



come of a "chapter" strung upon an eyelet. Even now it is the fashion in China to write poems or other *belles-lettres* in single columns upon fan blades. A beautiful specimen of the "altar name" is to be seen in Lord Curzon's collection at the Bethnal Green Museum, evidently looted from the palace of Prince Yü, to whose family it ought now in good taste to be returned.

# "A VARIED LIFE."—GENERAL

## SIR T. E. GORDON.\*

BY R. E. FORREST.

WE quarrel with the title of the book. We do not think the life is specially and peculiarly varied. Sir Thomas Gordon has had a distinguished career; every officer in the Indian army does not go through all his experiences, but he has had no experiences which other officers have not gone through also. His two most distinctive pieces of service, those taking him outside India, were the Mission to Kashgar and the appointment to the post of Military Attaché at Tehran. But Persia and Afghanistan and Turkestan and Thibet and the Pamirs have always been contiguous to India, and the fruitful source of excursions and alarms—as in the old days of incursions, too. Service in Persia is nothing remarkable. Many other Indian officers, as Sir Henry Rawlinson, for instance, have held the same post, or similar ones. We might pause to say that the members of the Indian Telegraph Department have rendered services in Persia which have involved more hardship and danger, required as much diplomatic skill, and been more productive of useful results, than those of most of the officers in political employ; but here, as elsewhere, it is politics that bring the honours. Then the Kashgar Mission was a fine piece of work, but there have been others like it. And it contained eight English members, one of whom, the civilian, Dr. Stoliczka, the geologist, died. We are glad to reproduce this sentence from a newspaper of the time: "But the greatest feat throughout the whole expedition was that performed by Colonel Gordon and his party"—the one with which Stoliczka lost his life. Our only thought is that, with all the expeditions, public and private, the Boundary Commissions and Political Missions, the shooting and

\* "A Varied Life," by General Sir Thomas Edward Gordon, K.C.B., K.C.I.E., C.S.I. John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.

exploring parties, our outposts at Chitral and Quetta, a journey into Himalayan and trans-Himalayan regions is no extraordinary variant in an Indian career. We should say that the term "a varied life" was more applicable, in the past, to the very diversified career of Richard Burton; to that of Palgrave, who left the Indian army to become a Jesuit priest, was a missionary in Syria, then, under the auspices of Napoleon III., made that mysterious journey across Arabia, the account of which forms one of the finest narratives in the English language; applicable, in the present, to the career of Dr. MacLagan, who has passed from a regiment of Bombay Native Infantry to the throne of Yosk; to that of Sir Mortimer Durand, who, after rising in the Indian Civil Service to the post of Foreign Secretary, has held such strongly contrasted Embassies as those of Tehran (this, and not "Teheran," is the mode of spelling given in this book), Madrid, and Washington; to that of Sir West Ridgeway, who, after a varied career in India as soldier and soldier-civilian, held office in Ireland, where he used Balfour's Baby in the boycott days, in the Isle of Man (Governor), in Ceylon (Governor), and lately was head of the Commission sent to South Africa to gather information on which to base a system of representation for the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony.

Sir Thomas Gordon did good service in the Indian Mutiny. It was the time for young men. "A subaltern of eight years' service and twenty-six years of age," he had the "immense luck" to "fall into command of the 7th Punjab Infantry," and used the opportunity well. His name was mentioned five times in despatches, and he obtained promotion to the ranks of Captain and Brevet-Major.

Passing the Interpreters' examination in Persian seemed to influence his career to the very end, for not only did it obtain for him the very pleasant post of Persian Interpreter on the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief, with its opportunities of making many friends, but no doubt it had its influence, along with his record of good service, in his

being selected to accompany the Mission to Kashgar, as second-in-command, in 1873; to meet the Amir, Abdul Rahman Khan, in 1885; as "Military Attaché and Oriental Secretary to the Legation" at Tehran, in 1889; to his being "nominated by the Queen's command" to be attached to the person of the representative of the Shah of Persia at the Diamond Jubilee celebration in 1897; to his being nominated for a similar post the year of the Coronation of King Edward VII., 1902. Sir Thomas seems to have carried his Persian studies a good way beyond the point indicated by the qualifying for the military interpretation, and was once engaged with Professor H. Blochman, whose untimely decease was so great a loss to Oriental literature, in the preparation of an edition of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, "he preparing the Persian text and I the English translation. We had about 700 verses to bring out, and had only completed 200, with translations and explanatory notes," when the work was suspended for a time, and then ended by the death of Blochman. For the benefit of Omar Khayyam scholars, it may be worth while to state that Sir Thomas had the use of "two valuable MS. copies of Khayyam's verses [we are surprised at his using so wrong a mode of reference as Khayyam by itself], which had been obtained by Mr. Whitley Stokes." Afterwards "I took it with me to Tehran in 1889, and read it there amid Persian surroundings. I then favoured the opinion that the great reputation of Omar Khayyam as a poet is Western rather than Eastern, and that he is not nearly so well known, nor so popular, in Persia as Hafiz. The gay and volatile Persians prefer the reveller to the mystic, and the swing and ring of Hafiz's

"One more bowl then hither bring,  
 Why should Hafiz sorrow?  
 In my cups I'll be a King,  
 Regardless of to-morrow,"

to Omar's tears over the illusions of humanity and his melancholy gospel of despair." May it not be said that

Fitzgerald has made Omar Khayyam, as Omar Khayyam made Fitzgerald?

"I was glad," says the General, on the occasion of the return from Kashgar, "to descend into the vale of Kashmir from the wintry desolation of the Karakosam country, and the charm of the change made me sufficiently sentimental to remember what Moore's 'Nurmahal' ('Light of the Harem') sung of the 'happy valley':

*" 'Gar behisht ast ru-i-zameen,  
Hameen ast, humeen-ast hameen.' "*

("If on earth there be a place of bliss,  
It is this, it is this, it is this.")

We have not "Lalla Rookh" to refer to. We do not know how the celebrated lines stand there. We take the above to mean that the quotation is from memory. We should judge that the English lines were remembered, and a rendering of them made into Persian. We may be mistaken, not having read the Persian for many years now; but these two lines do not seem to us like the Persian of Persia. They do not seem to us to scan; they do not seem to us to be at all in accord with the laws of construction of that language. The famous couplet is inscribed on the walls of the beautiful Hall of Public Audience at Delhi, and in our memory that inscription runs thus:

*"Gar behisht ba ruh-i-zamin ust,  
Hamin ust, hamin ust, hamin ust;"*

which, word for word, is:

"If Paradise on face of earth is,  
Here it is, here it is, here it is."

The rhymed versions into English have been many.

"Nurmahal" is "Light of the Palace."

Sir Thomas Gordon held high command on the line of communication (Kuram Valley) in the Caubul campaign of 1879, and he notes how the Quartermaster-General's department at Simla, "troubled by the miserable state of the



transport," at length "desired to remain in ignorance" of uncomfortable information.

Sir Thomas has some pages of sporting reminiscences : he describes the rush-out of birds and animals from before a jungle-fire, among them "the gay peacock, with outstretched, flexible neck held low, and moving with a quick, undulating motion preparatory to discordant cry and flight," a vivid and true description ; and he tells how a huge *lungoor* (baboon) suddenly placed himself close by his side on the branch of a tree, 10 feet from the ground, on which he was seated waiting for game ; how he "shrank from the close proximity of the ugly-mouthed, sharp-fanged, sinewy, powerful brute." In a few seconds the baboon, too, became aware of that close proximity, of his "being within touch of a man," and then—"the change from chattering confidence to paralyzing terror was instantaneous and ludicrous ; he utterly collapsed, and dropped to the ground as if dead."

In the Persian portion of the book we read : "I shall not attempt any description of the ruins of the past, and the evidences of great public works of far-extending utility, built sixteen centuries before, which met my gaze and stirred my imagination at Shuster and Ahwaz, as this has already been well done by several very competent travellers in those regions. I shall confine my observations now to incidents of the journey and modern matters of interest which attracted my attention." This paragraph indicates the defect of the book—it is too much event to too little imagination. Another extract from the preface explains the reason of this : "The possession of a continuous diary, which I have kept up since 1857, and some notes of my earlier experiences, has tempted me to produce this account of a varied life." In an active life, one of movement, the entries in a diary are mostly of events, which, however personally interesting and important at the moment, are usually in themselves of no permanent, or general, or historic importance, and whose record, untouched by

personal feeling, or illumined by imagination, makes very wearisome reading. This is the case, for instance, with the diary-form narratives of some of the finest and most adventurous journeys of exploration made in Africa: the ever keeping together of the party of porters was of supreme importance, no doubt, but the daily record of their attempts to desert simply kills the books by making them unreadable. The diary, or the narrative, which is a mental diary, will derive continued existence only—first, from its literary excellence, as in the case of "Eöthen"; second, from the permanent value of the events recorded and treated of; third, from the exhibition of personal character, or from a combination of these. But to revert to the passage giving rise to these reflections: What is the first modern matter of interest that takes the place of a description of great ancient works stirring the imagination at Shuster? It is that the *Shushan* and *Susa*, small steamers of twenty and thirty tons, ran up certain streams to within a few miles of the place. What good is it to state in a book that this was so sixteen years ago? We would much rather have had a few words expressive of the stirring of the imagination.

The same defect of the presentation from the diary of incidents and occurrences of personal importance in the passing day, none after it, runs through the book.

"Hans Breitman gave a barty:

Where *is* that barty now?

Gone, like the loafly summer cloud,

Upon the mountain's brow."

And even with regard to public matters, how soon time diminishes their importance and interest? No doubt Sir Thomas Gordon did his work well in Persia, and deserved his commendations; but the observations concerning the Persian army of seventeen years ago cannot be of much service to-day, when so great a change has taken place in the political condition of Persia that the latest news from that land is the astounding one of the calling of a Persian Parliament.

The author apologizes for the egotism "inseparable from an autobiography"; we wish he had made it more egotistical, in the sense of making it more of himself, as well as about himself, which it was bound to be; had given us more of his own thoughts and feelings. He is curiously reticent as to his own opinions with regard to the public men and events mentioned.

We put together the passages that seem to present the author himself to us. Of the Yarkand-Kashgar Mission it was written that it "showed what courage, physical endurance, and foresight could accomplish against supreme obstacles." Lord Sandhurst wrote regarding him: "His powers of labour are great, and are seen alike in his addiction to study and in his habits of business; and, finally, he is blessed with an amount of discretion, and if need be secrecy, which I have never seen exceeded." And the author says of himself: "My young life had been a hard one, and that gave me the patience and perseverance which eventually served me well."

The book contains many interesting illustrations from the pencil of the author. He has had the use of the sword, the pen, and the pencil; of the rifle and the hog-spear, and excelled in horsemanship. It is the record of an active, manly, pleasant, agreeable, honourable, and not inadequately rewarded career. It is a life pleasant to read of.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, June 11, 1908, a paper was read by H. R. James, Esq., M.A. Oxon (Principal of the Presidency College, Calcutta), on "The Implications of University Reform in Bengal," Theodore Morison, Esq., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Donald Robertson, K.C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Lieutenant-Colonel F. P. Maynard, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Professor J. A. Cunningham, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. W. Hornell, Mr. S. K. Radcliffe, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Mrs. H. Rosher James, Dr. Bhabha, Mrs. Maynard, Mr. N. N. Ghattak, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. A. R. Knapp, Mr. F. H. Barrow, the Misses Delaney, Mr. R. D. Batliwala, Miss Alma Hodge, Mrs. A. Ritchie Upjohn, Miss Latham, Mrs. Pennington, Mrs. Sandeman, Mr. P. L. Misra, Mr. N. G. Velinkar, and Dr. John Pollen, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, in introducing Mr. James to you I wish only to remind you of his very great qualifications to speak to us upon this subject. He is, as you know, the Principal of the Presidency College in Calcutta, and at the same time he has been closely associated with those movements of University reform which are part of the result of the passing of the University Act of 1904. He has been closely associated with these movements from their inception, and has taken a leading and an authoritative part in them. I will now call on Mr. James.

The paper was then read.

On the conclusion of the paper,

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and gentlemen, we have heard a most interesting paper read by Mr. James, and I am sure there will be a most interesting discussion upon it. I think the ideas that Mr. James has put forward are more familiar, perhaps, and more acceptable to persons engaged in education than to those who follow other walks in life, and I think, therefore, it would be more interesting if we received criticisms first from those not actually engaged in education, and who might be inclined to challenge the views which Mr. James has put forward.

MR. S. S. THORBURN wished to make two little criticisms, the first being that the whole question of reform in University education in India depended upon money. (Hear, hear.) Mr. James had avoided that question, saying that a mere educationalist had no concern with finance. He reminded him (the speaker) of a speech made by Lord Roberts in the House of Lords when he was putting forward the requirements for national defence. Lord Roberts had stated that in the event of a serious invasion of India, they would require 500,000 British troops to be put on the

frontier. As the cost would be about a pound a day per man, the gross total would be half a million daily. Lord Roberts got over the money difficulty by saying that he was a soldier and not a financier. That was the way in which Mr. James appeared to have got over the same difficulty in his paper. The other criticism was this: Mr. James seemed to have forgotten throughout his paper that there were other people in India besides the Bengalis. The Bengali Babū had no monopoly of India. Then Mr. James had said that they gave the higher collegiate education to "the people" of India because they could not do anything else. The truth was we had failed to educate "the people" of India, the rural masses, the peasants, who paid most of the taxes—*e.g.*, the whole land revenue and most of the salt-tax. If the Government were going to spend, as it ought to spend, more money in educating the people of India, they ought to begin with the rural masses, who paid the taxes and manned our army and police, and ought not to go on educating the urban classes, who lived on the masses. (Applause.)

MR. J. D. REES, M.P., said he was very much of the same mind with Mr. Thorburn in many respects, but he recognized that the lecturer, in his extremely able address, naturally had spoken from his own standpoint, and it was an eloquent plea for the results of that education in which he himself had played a distinguished part. He could not help thinking that Mr. James, in his anxiety to make the best of his case (and he was far from saying it was a bad case) did not use as apt words as he might with regard to the affair at Mozufferpore. He had described it as "mistaken violence," but that was a somewhat mild description of a terrible occurrence. When Mr. James said that the method was wrong because their only education was Western and not Oriental, he (Mr. James) was not doing justice to those who took the opposite view. Of course, there was great difficulty in having one language for the whole of India, but there were different languages which predominated in different parts, and it would be quite possible to give the education in those different languages in the different parts. He thought those who wanted higher education should pay for it. He believed that to be a sound general principle, the observance of which would cause an infinite benefit to India. He thought that half the troubles arose from hurling education at those who were not in a position to make proper use of it.

Then Mr. James had said that they could not alter the prevailing tone of their education without going back to the education of fifty years ago and altering all their schemes, but he thought they could alter the scheme of general higher education so as to make it less metaphysical, and put less philosophy into it. They might cut out Herbert Spencer, for instance. He thought that higher education should be so organized as to make it less dangerous to excitable and imitative youths.

Referring to the earlier education that was started before the time of Macaulay's Minute, he thought that David Hare, who was mentioned in Mr. James's paper, was a professing agnostic or atheist, part of his system being that there should be no religious instruction of any sort or kind. Mr. Hare thought it was desirable to remove any foundation of belief



from education, whether Hindu or any other kind. That there was no moral training in it was one of the greatest defects of their higher education. (Hear, hear.) He did not wish to make any reflection on the Bengalis, whose peasantry possessed all the usual great merits of Indians, but they must not forget that Bengal was not the leading province in education. The first was Burma, then came Madras, and then Bombay and Bengal, and there were two Native States in India which came before Burma, Madras, Bengal, and Bombay. In giving higher education, they ought to give it without producing that sense of revolt against the ruling Power. Mr. James admitted that that was an unfortunate result of the present system of education in India. It was deplorable recently in the House of Commons to hear this question discussed without the slightest reference to the great reforms on which Mr. James had touched, which were introduced by Lord Curzon—for instance, the introduction of hostels, which would tend to the improvement of higher education in India. Mr. James had led them to think that he was going to make some suggestion which would solve the educational financial problem in India, but he did not actually mention it. He would like to ask Mr. James when he was speaking of the present condition of education in India, whether he seriously compared India with the system in force and the educational requirements of Western nations? Did he compare India with Western nations? If so, he differed from Mr. James altogether. They had to compare the condition of India under their rule with the condition of other Oriental people under the rule of European Powers, and not with the condition of people in their own island. That matter seemed to be ignored in every discussion in this country either in or out of Parliament. India was compared with a parish in England. He thought that the circumstance that there should be any resemblance between them at all was a tribute to our extraordinary power as administrators.

COLONEL C. E. YATE agreed with Mr. James with regard to his ideal for future collegiate and University education in India, but expressed his inability to follow him when he called upon the Government of India "for free expenditure upon education" on the ground that "no other form of expenditure will so readily win the good-will the Administration so badly needs." Regarding that, he concurred with what Mr. Rees had just said—viz., that those who wanted higher education should pay for it. His experience was that anything that was given for nothing was rarely appreciated, and seldom won good-will, and that nothing was really valued that was not some way or other paid for by the recipient. Free University education in India was, he thought, one of the last things that Government money should be expended upon. There was no free Government University education in England. Why should they have it in India?

MR. JAMES quoted a Calcutta daily paper in reference to new schemes of primary education, stating that "the cry for learning English is universal nowadays, and among all classes of people." So be it. For primary education expenditure on the part of the Government of India was natural, but the people who required higher English education should pay for it themselves. The money that Mr. James called for to meet the increased

expenditure should be met by the individuals who required the education, and by private munificence on the part of wealthy Indians, not by expenditure on the part of the Government of India. Why should the many in India be taxed for the higher education of the few?

MR. S. G. VELINKAR could not agree with those gentlemen who had spoken against the lecturer. He (the speaker) came from India, and had belonged to the Bombay University, where he had received his education, and he had been impressed with one thing, and that was that in India the good-will of the people could only be secured by their being properly educated by the Government (Hear, hear), and that any amount of money that was spent on the education of the people was not misspent. To a certain extent he quite agreed that those who wished for higher education should pay for it; but there was a *via media*—namely, that higher education could partly be paid for by those who desired it if the Government could not pay the whole of the cost of it. In the debate that evening there seemed to be two sides. One side argued that the Government of India should pay fully for the higher education; the other side argued that those who wished for higher education should pay for it themselves, but he wished to suggest a *via media*—viz., that its cost should be split up and divided between them. An apportionment could easily be arrived at by which those who wished for higher education could be made to bear a portion of its cost. Unfortunately, as he knew from his own experience, education in sciences was very deficient. They would excuse him if he displayed a little ignorance about Bengal, because he was speaking about Bombay. The kind of education that was given in natural science in Bombay, he was sorry to say, up to very recently had been very deficient, but an advance was going to be made. The Government were determined that practical education should be given, as far as possible, in natural science. When he went up for his M.A. he took physics and chemistry for his voluntary subjects. The curriculum required practical training and experience of very difficult electrical machines and chemical apparatus and processes, but he was sorry to say that there was no method of obtaining adequate practical instruction in any of these subjects, although he was expected to pass a very difficult *viva-voce* examination in them. He did not wish to hide from them the fact that under those circumstances he had failed, having had to receive most of his education, so far as practical chemistry was concerned, not from the college to which he belonged, but from another college, and that being so it was very difficult to attain any excellence in that subject, particularly as the examiners in that part of the world seemed to consider an examination to be an intellectual duel between their intellects and that of the unfortunate student. (Laughter.)

With regard to the system of cramming, to which the lecturer had also referred, that was a system not peculiar to India, but he was glad to say that the University reformers were trying to get over that system as far as possible.

With regard to the recent unfortunate incidents in Bengal, his idea was that as long as human nature was what it was, those unfortunate incidents would retard the advance in the reforms which they expected in India;

but, as the lecturer had properly pointed out, there was great room for hope, and their policy should be not to stop education, but to increase it. He fully agreed with one of the other speakers that the benefit of education ought to be given to the masses, and not only to the classes. (Applause.) It was the masses whom appropriate education should reach—the agricultural and rustic classes—and not only the urban classes. Unfortunately, the tendency seemed to be to become M.A.'s or B.A.'s, and so on, and the ambition of the people seemed to be to get Government employment. If they started with a 50-rupee salary, and got up to 300, that was about all that they wanted education to do for them. He thought that ought to be stopped, and that education ought to be so given as that it reached the masses, and that its proper object, the end for which it was imparted, should be well kept in view.

MR. S. K. RATCLIFFE regretted that Mr. Rees had not taken advantage of the occasion to state his real position on the question of higher education. He made two complaints against controversialists like Mr. Rees: first, that their criticism was destructive and did not help towards the removal of the practical difficulty; and, secondly, that they were apt inferentially to mislead by their way of stating the question. For example, anybody unacquainted with the position of education in India, listening to Mr. Rees, would have deduced that it was possible for even higher education in India to be given entirely in the vernaculars, that such higher education as existed was free, and that Herbert Spencer was a regular text-book in the colleges and Universities—all of which deductions would be manifestly absurd. He agreed that under present conditions those who wanted higher education ought to pay for it. They were paying for it. Mr. Rees and those who thought with him could not be unaware of the sacrifices made by extremely poor and extremely reputable and self-respecting families in order to obtain something in the nature of higher education for their boys. He doubted whether, even in Scotland in the old days, the education of the poor scholar had involved greater struggle and self-sacrifice than in Bengal, and presumably other provinces in India. He resented the suggestion that the students in Indian Universities got something for which they gave nothing in return. They all agreed that education in India should be made less literary and metaphysical. Even those educationalists who were not satisfied with the present methods of University reform were all working in that direction, and the native movements to which Mr. James had referred with approval were helping to counteract the too literary tendency of the last fifty years. To Mr. James's dictum that the cure for imperfect education was more education and better, he would add (and Mr. Rees as a Liberal would surely accept the principle) that the cure for evils arising out of imperfect liberty was more liberty and greater responsibility.

MR. W. HORNELL, although entirely in favour of all that Mr. James had said, taken as a plea for not curtailing higher education in India, but rather for improving and developing it, thought that he had rather overlooked the serious aspect of the financial problem. He himself had been six and a half years in Bengal, and for the last two years he had been intimately

connected with the Central Office in Calcutta, and he knew that the financial question was a serious one. In order to improve the Universities a great deal more money would have to be spent. One of the speakers—an Indian—had said that the students might be made to pay more, but he fancied that if the honourable gentleman in question was a member of the Bengal Council, he would scarcely dare to get up in Calcutta and suggest that there should be an all-round raising of fees. Anyone who knew anything about it would remember that the great outcry against Lord Curzon's proposed reforms was based on the assumption that they would make education too expensive. He himself doubted the possibility of making education more expensive to the student, because the people of the middle classes who profited most by education were, on the whole, extremely poor, and they were not becoming richer. Therefore if University education were made considerably more expensive than it was now, they would exclude from that education a large number of persons who belonged to a class whose whole welfare depended on their being able to participate in whatever system of higher education was current, and who did as a fact profit by it more than any others. In India it was nearly always the sons of poor men who did best. He did not think it was feasible to expect to get much more from the students. Then where was the money to come from? It was easy to say that the Government could give more. The question was, How much? and they had to consider that there was still another side of the difficulty on which he thought Mr. James had touched a little too lightly, and that was that until they could introduce a sound system of secondary schools it was no use spending money on colleges. He had no hesitation in saying that the schools in Bengal at the present day were so bad that it was almost impossible for the students at the majority of the schools to get an education which would enable them to undertake with profit a proper University course. He thought the difficulty was more or less recognized, but there again secondary education could only be put right by the expenditure of a very great deal of money. Then, again, with regard to spending more money on education, they had to consider how the money was going to be distributed among the various kinds of education; and, of course, as some of the speakers had pointed out, they must not forget that University education, after all, only touched a very small number of the population. He felt inclined to criticise Mr. James's paper because he thought that anyone hearing it, and being unacquainted with the conditions, would go away with the idea that India was an educated country. Education had not touched the masses at all. The primary schools in Bengal, for instance, were so inefficient that the instruction which they imparted could not be called education at all. It was imparted through the medium of men who were themselves uneducated. Even in Bengal only one girl in thirty-three went to school at all. Mr. James had said that the upper classes, at any rate, had accepted with enthusiasm the higher education which we had given them; but that was not quite so, because the Muhammadans—in Bengal, at any rate—had, practically speaking, stood aside from it, and had continued their old system of education. This further complicated the general question, because



Government could not leave the Muhammadans out in the cold, and if they were going to do their duty by that community they ought to place such education as they wanted at their disposal, and see that it was sound. It seemed to him that there was no other solution of the present question than to go on doing what they were doing, but to do it better; but it was necessary to appreciate the fact that with regard to education there was a minimum of efficiency, below which what was imparted as education was of no value at all. To take Bengal, there was a large system of schools and colleges. The question was, how they were to make these colleges and schools efficient. He advocated development and improvement, but he insisted that if they had not the means to carry on such a system, it would be better to do less and do it better.

PROFESSOR J. A. CUNNINGHAM thought that it had not been sufficiently emphasized that Mr. James was dealing only with University education. The vernaculars at the present time were not equal to the strain of University education, and he thought it was essential that they should go on in the way they had been doing, using only English. From the foundation of the Punjab University they had had an Oriental faculty for developing higher education on an Oriental basis with Oriental languages, and it had been found to be so unsuccessful that it had to be dropped. What they wanted was thoroughness in every detail. There were people in India who advocated vigorous education of the masses, which he would be sorry to deprecate, but at the same time there were great difficulties in the way of that. What they were doing at the present time was to get hold of the intellectually most developed classes who understood Western thought, and thereby to get into contact with the people of India, and he thought that that must be continued. He wished to throw out a suggestion with regard to how the large funds could be got which would be required for higher education. It was the upper classes who should pay for it. He denied that the people were not willing to pay for education. The Presidency College in Calcutta cost something like a lac and a half of rupees per annum to run it, and of that lac and a half students' fees contributed very nearly a lac. He thought that the Bengali students bore as large, or a larger, proportion of the cost of education as any body of students probably in the world.

MR. G. C. WHITWORTH said, with regard to the suggestion that the vernaculars of India were useless as means for the conveyance of education, that though it might be true of some, there were others which, with their infinite power of drawing upon Sanscrit, the most perfect language that was ever evolved, were languages quite powerful and elastic enough to convey any system of education, whether Western or Eastern. Then one speaker had said that education ought to be confined to University education. To that he entirely demurred. He thought the ordinary ryot had a mind which was capable of development, and very well worthy of the best efforts of English teachers. Mr. James had referred to the Indian Press. Undoubtedly there were Indian newspapers worthy of the uttermost condemnation, but there were others which, both as to soundness of judgment and sobriety of tone, might be compared even with the *Times* or the *Spectator*, or any other English paper.



SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL said that he wished to associate himself entirely with Mr. James's admirable remarks, though he should differ from him on some details. As an administrator for some thirty-five years in Madras, he would point out that the public service was far and away better at the present time than when he went into it in 1865.

MR. P. L. MISRA said, with regard to the vernaculars not being used, that there was a gentleman at Lahore who had written several science primers in Urdu. In the country districts in many villages the people could not read English, and it was very difficult for them to obtain even vernacular education, as the children frequently had to be sent two miles and sometimes more. Further, in England people had a right to education, but in India the Government did not afford sufficient facilities, although they had to pay for it.

THE LECTURER, in reply, reminded the meeting that he had not come there as a controversialist, but to state a case, and he would not attempt to justify what he had said any further. He trusted, that though he had only put forward one point of view, they would not think that he had ignored other points of view. With regard to the question of finance, he thought that would be better reserved to a more appropriate occasion. He thought it was necessary that they should have faith in the education which they had carried so far, and they would have to be hopeful.

On the motion of MR. THORBURN a vote of thanks was by acclamation accorded to the Chairman.

## ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held at the office, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, on July 27, at 3.30 p.m. T. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L., was in the chair.

The Report and Accounts were unanimously adopted, after a discussion in which Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Loraine Petre, Mr. C. E. Buckland, and Colonel D. G. Pitcher took part.

The Right Hon. Lord Reay was re-elected President of the Association for the ensuing year, and the Right Hon. Lord Lamington was unanimously elected Chairman of Council in succession to the late Sir Lepel Griffin.

The eight retiring Members of Council were re-elected.

The Rules as revised and adopted by Council were approved.

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## ANNUAL REPORT.

THE Council of the East India Association submit the Report and Accounts of the year 1907-1908.

During the year the Association has suffered two great losses in the deaths of their Chairman of Council, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., and of their Hon. Secretary, Mr. C. W. Arathoon.

Sir Lepel Griffin died on March 9, 1908, and the Council have recorded their sense of the loss they have

suffered and their appreciation of Sir Lepel's eminent services to the Association in the following words :

"As Chairman he carried out the objects of the Society with ability and earnestness, making the Association a centre at which important matters affecting India could be debated, and at which Indian students could meet Englishmen interested in the subjects dealt with. At these meetings he presided with dignity and tact and contributed most usefully to the discussions.

"He retained his love for India to the last, and only recently took a prominent part as representing this Society in pressing upon the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and India the claims of British Indian subjects for more considerate treatment in the Transvaal.

His unexpected death will be deplored by multitudes of friends in India as well as in England, and by none more than by his colleagues on this Council."

Mr. Arathoon died on November 11, 1907. He had been closely connected with the Association for more than thirty years, and was appointed Hon. Secretary in 1895. The Council of the Association have placed on record their grateful appreciation of his services, their deep regret at his sudden death, and their sympathy with his family.

In succession to Sir Lepel Griffin, the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., has kindly consented to undertake the duties of Chairman of Council, and the Association may be congratulated on securing the services of so distinguished an administrator and statesman, and one so devoted to the best interests of the people of India, of whose needs, views and aspirations his Lordship has had such recent personal knowledge.

On the death of Mr. Arathoon Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E. (late of the Bombay Civil Service), was appointed Hon. Secretary, but before accepting the appointment he explained

that it would be necessary for him to visit India for a few months ; and during his absence Mr. J. B. Pennington, of the Madras Civil Service (retired), kindly undertook the duties of the Hon. Secretaryship which he zealously and efficiently discharged.

During his tour in India Dr. Pollen endeavoured to stimulate interest in the work of the Association, and several influential new members have been enrolled. But much still remains to be done to increase the membership and to extend the usefulness of the Association, and, as a step in this direction, the Council have redrafted the Statement of objects and policy. They have also revised the Rules, and these are being submitted for the approval of the Annual Meeting.

The state of the Finances of the Association has further engaged the attention of Council, and three new Trustees have been nominated in whom the property of the Association will be formally vested. The Council have also resolved to advise the appointment of two or more Vice-Chairmen to facilitate the despatch of business.

The papers read during the year before the Association were the following :

July 29, 1907. M. S. Das, Esq., C.I.E., "Development of Industry in British India." Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair.

October 24, 1907. J. Nisbet, Esq., "The Development and Trade of Burma." Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

December 17, 1907. N. G. Welinkar, Esq., M.A., LL.B., "The Problems of Higher Education in India." Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair.

January 27, 1908. C. W. Whish, Esq., I.C.S. (retired). "Some Lessons from History on the Problems of Indian Administration." C. E. Buckland, Esq., C.I.E., in the chair.

May 13, 1908. Charles E. Drummond Black, Esq.,

"The Trade and Resources of Tibet." The Right Hon. Lord Wenlock, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation, and offer themselves for re-election :

Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.  
 Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E.  
 T. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L.  
 J. B. Pennington, Esq.  
 Sir Lesley Probyn.  
 Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I.  
 S. S. Thorburn, Esq.  
 F. Loraine Petre, Esq.

The following gentlemen have been elected members of the Association since the date of last report :

Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I.  
 J. H. W. Arathoon, Esq.  
 The Aga Sultan Sir Mahomed Shah Aga Khan,  
 G.C.I.E.  
 The Right Hon. Lord Ampthill, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
 Sir Hugh S. Barnes, K.C.S.I.  
 Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D.  
 Khan Bahadur Hormusji Maneckji Bhiwandwalla.  
 Sir Ravu Venkatasweta - Chalapati Runga - Rao  
 Bahadur, Maharajah of Bobbili, K.C.I.E.  
 Dhanjibhoy Bomanji, Esq.  
 R. Bomanji, Esq.  
 Sir Edward Charles Buck, K.C.S.I., LL.D.  
 Ardeshir Jamsetjee Bilimoria, Esq.  
 The Rev. G. R. S. Clack.  
 Surgeon-General James Cleghorn, C.S.I.  
 Lieut.-Colonel Sir William Earnshaw Cooper, C.I.E.  
 Sir Louis William Dane, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.  
 Kawasji Dubash.  
 Arthur Forbes, Esq., C.S.I.



- Pirajirao Bapu Saheb Ghatge, C.I.E., Chief of Kagal.  
Krishna Gobinda Gupta, Esq.  
Vivian Gabriel, Esq., C.V.O.  
J. Sykes Gamble, Esq., C.I.E.  
Sir John Hewett, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.  
Sir Lawrence Hugh Jenkins, K.C.I.E.  
The Hon. Hajee Nawab Fatih Ali Jehan Kazil-  
bash, C.I.E.  
H.H. Diwan Sahib Sir Sher Mahomed Khanji,  
G.C.I.E., Nawab of Palanpur.  
Jehangir U. Kothari, Esq.  
Eduljee Jamsetjee Khory, Esq.  
Jehangir Dosabhoy Framjee Karaka, Esq.  
Hartley Kennedy, Esq., C.S.I.  
H.H. Mahomed Sher Khan of Radhaupur.  
Sir Arthur Lawley, G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G.  
Theodore Morison, Esq.  
Maharana Mansingjee, Raja of Baria.  
Dr. M. V. Mehta, B.A., L.M. & S.  
H.H. the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar (life member).  
Robert Daniel Marquis Newing, Esq.  
Bomanjee Dinshaw Petit, Esq.  
Colonel D. G. Pitcher.  
H.H. the Rajah of Pithapuram.  
The Hon. Khan Bahadur Nowroji Pestonji  
Vakil, C.I.E.  
Lieut.-Colonel Sir Donald Robertson, K.C.S.I.  
Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I.  
Isaac Mann Shields, Esq. (life member).  
Hormasji Sorabji, Esq.  
Kumar Shri Vijaysinhji Samatsinhji.  
The Hon. Raja Partab Bahadur Singh, C.I.E.  
Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I.  
P. C. Tarapore, Esq., F.R.G.S.  
H.H. Mir Sir Faiz Muhammad Khan Talpur, G.C.I.E.,  
Mir of Khairpur.  
H.H. Haji Mir Nur Mahomedan Khan Talpur.

D. J. Tata, Esq. (life member).  
Ratan Tata, Esq.  
Raja Kerala Varma, C.S.I., etc.  
S. G. Velinkar, Esq.  
Cursetji N. Wadia, Esq.

The Council regret to announce the deaths of:

Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I. (Chairman).  
C. W. Arathoon, Esq. (Hon. Secretary).  
T. H. Wilson, Esq.

And the resignations of:

John Jones, Esq.  
Sir Frederick Lely, K.C.S.I.

The following have joined the Council:

Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I.  
Sir Hugh S. Barnes, K.C.S.I.  
W. Coldstream, Esq.  
Colonel D. G. Pitcher.  
Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Donald Robertson, K.C.S.I.  
Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I.

The following have vacated the Council:

Sir H. S. Cunningham, K.C.I.E.  
Sir Gerald Seymour Vesey Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.  
Sir Charles Roe.  
A. K. Connell, Esq.

## GENERAL ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

CASH ACCOUNT FROM MAY 1, 1907, TO APRIL 30, 1908.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
By Balance at Bankers' ...	£200 19 10	By Rent ...	£100 0 0
" In Hand ...	1 19 7½	" Hire of Hall and Refreshments ...	18 11 6
" Subscriptions Received ...	138 0 0	" Housekeeper and Sundries ...	16 17 11½
" Sale of Journals ...	0 18 9	" Shorthand Writer ...	12 12 0
" Interest on Investments ...	205 19 10	" Salaries ...	107 0 0
	<u>£547 17 2½</u>	" Printing and Typing ...	119 16 0
		" Insurance ...	0 14 0
		" Newspapers ...	3 18 0
		" Postage ...	14 16 3
		" Coal and Gas ...	4 16 4
		" Stationery ...	5 7 3½
		" Hire of Optical Lantern ...	1 15 0
		" Wreath for Mr. Arathoon's Funeral ...	0 12 6
		" Messrs. Grindlay's charges ...	0 11 7
		" Miscellaneous ...	4 11 8½
		By Balance at Bankers' ...	£412 0 1½
		" Cash in Hand ...	121 4 1
			14 13 0
Total ...	£547 17 2½	Total ...	£547 17 2½

Examined with Accounts and Vouchers, and found correct.

F. LORAIN PETRE, Member of Council.

T. MORISON, Member of Association.

J. POLLEN, Hon. Secretary.

July 9, 1908.

*Appendix I.*THE OBJECTS AND POLICY OF THE  
ASSOCIATION.

THE object of the East India Association has been declared to be the promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally. To attain this object the Council earnestly invite the co-operation of all those who, by their position, influence, knowledge of India or administrative experience, are able to render effective assistance, and without whose active and liberal support the work of the Association cannot be satisfactorily accomplished.

The Association would specially appeal not only to the Ruling Princes of India, but also to all classes of educated Indians, with whose aspirations, so far as these are consonant with moderation and loyalty, it has the warmest sympathy.

The co-operation of the influential commercial and non-official community in India—British and Indian—and of the active and retired members of the Government Services, Civil and Military, who have consistently laboured to advance the best interests of the people, and have helped to consolidate, maintain, and defend the Indian Empire, will be highly valued.

The East India Association is essentially non-official in character, avoiding any connection with English party politics, and welcoming as members all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of India, whatever their political opinions. Its policy with reference to Indian questions is progressive, maintaining at the same time a due regard to the conservative traditions of the Indian Empire. It desires to encourage all wise and well-considered projects of social and administrative reform, but at the same time to protect the people of India from rash and hasty experiments opposed to the customs of the country. It endeavours to regard all questions of administrative and social progress from the point of view of the interests of the Indian people themselves, whose wishes, sentiments, and prejudices should be respected, and whose legitimate aspirations for a larger share in the government of their country should be encouraged and satisfied.

The objects and policy of the Association can best be promoted by lectures, and the promulgation of sound and trustworthy information regarding the many weighty problems which confront our administrators in India, so that the people of England may be able to obtain in a cheap and popular form a correct knowledge of the affairs of our great Dependency.

*Appendix II.*

## RULES OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

1. The object of the East India Association is the promotion of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally (1) by providing opportunities for the free public discussion, in a loyal and temperate spirit, of important questions affecting India; (2) by providing a centre for the friendly meeting of Indians with Englishmen interested in India; (3) by lectures and the publication of papers or leaflets diffusing accurate information, and correcting erroneous or misleading statements, about India and its administration; (4) by maintaining a Reference library; and (5) in such other ways as may be deemed by the Council from time to time desirable.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE ASSOCIATION.

PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENT, COUNCIL, AND MEMBERS.

2. The Association shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents (not exceeding thirty in number), a Council, and Honorary and Ordinary Members. The President shall be elected at the Annual Meeting, and the Council may from time to time appoint distinguished Indian Statesmen or others as Vice-Presidents.

## MANAGEMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

## COUNCIL.

3. The Management of the Association shall be vested in a Council, elected by the Members of the Association at a General Meeting; such Council shall consist of a Chairman, one or more Vice-Chairmen, and not more than twenty-four Members; three to form a quorum; eight to retire annually by rotation, but to be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting.

## TRUSTEES.

4. There shall be not less than three Trustees, in whom all the property of the Association shall be vested, and such Trustees shall further invest in their names from time to time such sums of money as the Council shall hand over to them for that purpose, in or upon such securities as the Council shall from time to time direct in writing, under the hand of the Secretary,



and shall hold and dispose of the securities and other property so vested in them as the Council shall in like manner direct. The books, furniture, and other property of a like nature belonging to the Association shall be insured against fire in such sum or sums as the Council shall in like manner direct.

## POWERS AND DUTIES OF COUNCIL.

### REMOVAL OF TRUSTEES, ETC.

5. The Council shall have power to appoint a new Trustee or Trustees in the place of any Trustee or Trustees who shall die, or desire to be discharged, or reside abroad, or cease to be a Member of the Association, or refuse or become incapable or unfit to act, and upon every such appointment the property of the Association which shall have been vested in the Trustees shall be effectually vested in such new Trustee or new Trustees, either jointly with the surviving or continuing Trustee or Trustees, or solely, as occasion may require, and upon every such appointment the number of Trustees may be increased or diminished, provided that the number of Trustees shall never be less than three.

### SECRETARIAT.

6. The Council shall appoint a Secretary, or Honorary Secretary, and such other employes as may be necessary, and fix their remuneration from time to time.

### VACANCIES.

7. The Council may fill up all casual vacancies on the Council, subject to confirmation at the next Annual General Meeting of the Association.

### SPECIAL COMMITTEES.

8. The Council may appoint Special Committees of not less than three Members of the Association, two of whom shall form a quorum.

### CO-OPERATION OF NON-MEMBERS.

9. It shall also be competent for the Council to invite the co-operation of persons not Members of the Association, but who have special knowledge of any particular subject, and to place such persons on any Committee which may be appointed.

### MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

10. The Council shall ordinarily meet once a month, or oftener if necessary, due notice being issued by the Secretary or

Hon. Secretary ; but the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or any three Members of the Council, may at any time convene a Meeting by giving three days' notice.

#### CHAIRMAN AT MEETINGS.

11. The Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Council, or, in their absence, any Member thereof nominated by those present, shall preside at the Meetings of the Council, and have a casting vote.

#### POWER TO ALTER BY-LAWS OR REGULATIONS.

12. The Council shall have power to make or alter by-laws or Regulations (not inconsistent with these Rules) for the management of the Association, and the conduct of meetings.

### HONORARY AND ORDINARY MEMBERS.

#### RIGHTS OF HONORARY MEMBERS.

13. Honorary Members shall have the same rights and privileges as Ordinary Members.

#### HONORARY MEMBERS, HOW APPOINTED.

14. Honorary Members may be appointed by the Council at any Meeting, after notice given at a previous Meeting, and shall consist of persons who have distinguished themselves in promoting the good of India.

#### ORDINARY MEMBERS.

15. Ordinary Members having been nominated and seconded by two Members of the Association may be elected at any Meeting of the Council, if approved by a majority of two-thirds present thereat.

#### RECORD OF ELECTION.

16. The election of every Member, both Ordinary and Honorary, shall be recorded on the Minutes of the Council ; and the Secretary shall forthwith notify, by letter, his election to the Member.

#### SUBSCRIPTION.

17. Ordinary Members shall (subject to special resolution of the Council) pay an annual subscription of £1 5s. (including payment for the *Journal* or *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, delivered free of postage) on January 1 in every year, or may compound for the same by payment of £14, which shall constitute him a Life-Member.

## PAYMENT OF SUBSCRIPTION.

18. No election of an Ordinary Member shall be complete, neither shall the name of any person so elected be printed in any list of the Association, nor shall he be entitled to exercise any of the privileges of a Member, until he shall have paid his first year's subscription, or compounded for the same; and unless this payment be made within three calendar months from the date of election, such election shall be void, provided that the time allowed for payment may be extended at the discretion of the Council.

## DEFAULTERS.

19. Any Member failing to pay his annual subscription, due on January 1, by the end of April, shall not be allowed to participate in any of the privileges or advantages of the Association until such subscription is paid; and if it be not paid on or before August 1, the defaulter's name shall be reported to the Council, immediate notice of the same being forwarded to him. If the annual amount due be not paid on or before December 31, or within such further time as the Council may grant upon special cause shown to them, the defaulter shall cease to be a Member of the Association, and his name shall be erased accordingly—provided always that any Member whose name may be so erased, or who may withdraw from the Association as hereinafter mentioned, shall continue to be liable for his annual subscription for the year in which his name has been erased, or he signifies his wish to withdraw; and he shall further continue liable for such annual subscription until he shall have discharged all sums, if any, due by him to the Association, and shall have returned all books or other property borrowed by him of the Association, or shall have made full compensation for the same if lost or not forthcoming.

## WITHDRAWALS.

20. Subject to the provisions of Article 19, any Member may withdraw from the Association by signifying his wish to do so by letter addressed to the Secretary at the rooms of the Association.

## EXCLUSION OF MEMBERS.

21. Whenever there shall appear to the Chairman to be cause for the exclusion of any Member of the Association, the Member shall be invited to explain or defend his conduct; and the subject, after receipt of the explanation or defence (if any) and any further inquiry necessary, shall be laid before the Council; the Council shall, after due deliberation, proceed to determine the question by ballot, and on its appearing that two-thirds of

the Members present have voted for the exclusion of such Member, the President shall remove his name from the register.

## MEETINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

### SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

22. At the desire of five Members of the Council, or on the written requisition of ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special General Meeting of the Association.

### NOTICE OF MEETING.

23. A week's notice at least of the time when, and the object for which, every Special General Meeting of the Association is to be held, shall be sent to every accessible Member whose address is known, and no other business than that of which notice has been thus given shall be entered upon or discussed at such Meeting.

### MINUTE BOOK.

24. The Minutes of the proceedings of every Meeting of the Association or Council shall be recorded in a book called the Minute Book, and nothing which is not so recorded shall bind the Council or any Member of the Association.

### CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS OF ASSOCIATION.

25. The President, or, in his absence, any Vice-President, or, in their absence, any Member nominated by the Meeting, shall preside at the Annual and Ordinary General Meetings of the Association, except when the author of a paper has, with the consent of the Council, arranged for anyone else, whether a Member of the Association or not, to preside.

### ANNUAL MEETING.

26. The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held in the month of May in every year, or on such other date following as the Council may direct.

## ACCOUNTS.

### HOW TO BE KEPT.

27. An account of all receipts and disbursements of the Association shall be kept in such manner as the Council may from time to time prescribe.

## ANNUAL AUDIT.

28. A statement of the Accounts of the Association shall be prepared, audited by one of the Members of the Council and one Member taken from the general body of the Members of the Association, and circulated, with the Report of the Council, seven days before the Annual Meeting.

## GENERAL.

## READING OF PAPERS, ETC.

29. The Council may convene Meetings for the reading of Papers (which have been considered and accepted by them), and for the discussion of subjects connected with India to be held at such times and places as may be convenient, and may publish, quarterly or otherwise, a *Journal* containing a report of the papers and discussions, and also issue tracts or leaflets relating to the Proceedings of the Association or to the objects it desires to promote.

## NON-COMMITTAL OF ASSOCIATION.

30. The acceptance by the Council of any Paper to be read at any Meeting of the Association shall not be taken as expressing an opinion upon the statements made or the arguments used in such Paper.

## ALTERATIONS IN RULES TO BE SANCTIONED AT ANNUAL MEETING.

31. No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made without the sanction of two-thirds of the Members of the Association present at the Annual General Meeting of the Association, or at a Special General Meeting convened for the purpose.

## LOCAL COMMITTEES.

32. Local Committees and Branches may be established subject to the approval of the Council of the Association, and the co-operation of other Associations may be invited.

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Passed at the Annual Meeting held on July 27, 1908, T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., in the Chair; J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Sec.



## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

MR. IYENGAR ON THE MYSORE DASARA  
EXHIBITION OF 1907.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE Dasara Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition of 1907—on which an admirable Report has been issued, under the auspices of His Highness the Maharaja's Government, by Rangaswami Iyengar, Esq., who was President of the Exhibition Committee—was a most successful experiment. And it is not too much to say that the experience gained in connection with that exhibition—which was in the nature of "a preliminary canter" for the series of annual exhibitions which is dealt with in another part of this Review—has enabled the Maharaja and the Government of Mysore to found an institution which is bound to have a potent effect in promoting the progress of this great State. Mr. Iyengar is well known as an able and successful Commissioner of Revenue under the Mysore Government, and his Report is well arranged and interesting. Mr. Iyengar points out that the exhibition owed its success largely to the active patronage given to it by His Highness and the Royal Family. As the time allotted for the preparation for it had been very short, the Dewan kindly put a strong force of officials at the disposal of the committee; and this fact, and the warm support of the general public, enabled the committee to carry out everything in accordance with the wishes of the Maharaja. The Report gives a classified descriptive list of the exhibits, with a full account of the awards, and is in many ways usefully illustrative of the industries and the agriculture of Mysore. For the adornment of his frontispiece, Mr. Iyengar has enlisted some good artistic talent, which shows us an excellent view

of the Exhibition buildings, also of the new Royal Palace, the Government offices, and the College—with a portrait of His Highness the Maharaja-Bahadur in the centre.

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"THE ETHICS OF JOURNALISM."

SIR,

Does a partisan editor really desire to ascertain the exact truth about every subject he discusses, or is he merely an advocate whose business it is to establish his own case even at the cost of misrepresenting his adversary?

Just because it is a matter of very little consequence whether I am misrepresented in this case or not, I take a note published on p. 315 of *India* for June 26, 1908, as a typical example of the way in which such an editor goes out of his way to back up his own views, even at the cost of stating the opponent's case very inadequately, to say the least of it.

No one is a good judge in his own cause, but I think what follows is a fair statement of my dispute with the editor of the *Indian Review*, a gentleman for whose *Review*, as well as for him personally, as far as I know him, I have a very great respect. Unfortunately, on the interpretation of the Queen's Proclamation he holds the extreme view urged by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and others, and thinks that anyone who ventures to call attention to the qualifying words, "so far as may be," is no better than he should be and a traitor to the cause of India. Accordingly, in an article published in the February number of his *Review*, referring, no doubt, to Lord Curzon's recent interpretation of the "Charter Act" of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, he spoke of "the *disgraceful* attempts to nullify" these documents; and as I have always taken the same view of their meaning, I said I felt "personally offended" at an honest opinion (which I had frequently expressed myself) being described as a "*disgraceful*" attempt to do something mean.

Now, what is the editor's reply? He says he "is some-

what surprised to read my letter,\* and that I "take exception to his statement that disgraceful attempts have been made to nullify the effect of the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858," and insists that his "statement is nothing but the bare truth, and that he has only to quote the highest official authority available in support of his statement." Then follow the usual authorities for this supposed breach of faith, reproduced in full in the issue of *India* referred to. It may be worth while to examine these verdicts in detail, and I have again to express my acknowledgments to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for so candidly setting out all the documents at length on p. 398 *et seq.* of his encyclopædic work with the disagreeable title. Now, Mr. Natésan (followed by *India*) says "a Committee of five members of the Council of India," (all Anglo-Indian officials,) "have declared the British Government to be exposed to the charge of keeping the promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope" (Report, January 20, 1860). What this Committee really said was that it was "not only just, but expedient that the natives of India should be employed in the administration of India to as large an extent as possible consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy." They observed that, even as it was, "no positive disqualification existed, but they thought that practically they were excluded," as it was "almost impossible for a native to compete successfully in England; but that, *were this inequality removed*, we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope"; and it was not, in fact, till four years later that Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore broke the spell and proved that even in those early days it was by no means *impossible* to compete successfully in England with Englishmen. He came out sixth in 1864, just beating Mr. Thorburn. Then came the opening of the Suez Canal and the great reduction in the time and cost of the voyage to England, so reducing the hardship considerably—so much

\* See p. 363 of the *Indian Review* for May last.

so that since 1870 the number of Indians who come to England to finish their education has increased immensely, and now supplies a strong body of several hundreds from which recruits for the Civil Service might be supplied in ample numbers, *if* they cared to compete. Neither the hardship of coming to England nor the expense is now very serious, as is shown by the example of Mr. Dadabhai himself and many others; indeed, the additional cost of coming to England for a few years would be hardly appreciable in the £1,000 to £2,000 which may be estimated as the total cost of being educated for the Civil Service examination.

It took a long time, of course, and much talking, (as usual in this country), before the "charter" of 1833 was even nominally carried into effect by throwing the Civil Service open to public competition in 1855, and I am one of those who think that more might have been done by the offer of scholarships and otherwise to enable promising youths to go to England to compete. But the gentlemen whose speeches are quoted by Mr. Dadabhai were evidently not very sanguine that natives of India would at once rise to high office, and perhaps would not have been surprised that it took more than twenty years to overcome vested interests in India. Lord Ellenborough, for instance, "*never expected to see the time* when the natives of India could, with advantage to the country and with honour to themselves, fill the highest situations there." Moreover, he "never looked forward to a period when *all* offices in India would be placed in the hands of natives. No man in his senses," he added, "would propose to place the political and military power in the hands of natives," and when Lord Lansdowne observed that what the Government proposed was that *all* offices in India should be by law open to the natives of the country, he objected that it was practically impossible. Macaulay, then a young man of thirty-three with no knowledge of India, replied to Lord Ellenborough; but even he, impetuous reformer as he was, was careful to say that he "was far, very far, from wishing to proceed hastily in this most

delicate matter," and felt that, "*for the good of India itself*, the admission of natives to high office must be effected *by slow degrees*."

The Duke of Wellington, who did know something of the country and its people and had the great advantage of personal friendship with that great man, Sir Thomas Munro, objected to the declaration making the natives eligible for all situations, because it was, in his opinion, "impracticable." He thought "the higher appointments must be closed against natives if our Empire in India was to be maintained."

In the end the clause was enacted as follows, with the qualifying word "only": "That no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason *only* of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company."

Now, the long-delayed regulations for admission to the Civil Service by open competition were no doubt intended as the fulfilment of the pledges made in 1833, and even the editor of *India* can hardly pretend that this examination does not in fact open the service to every Indian who can pass it, as so many have done; but he says that the voyage to England nullifies the boon. I certainly cannot believe that it does so now, though I admit it was a very serious hardship when the regulations were made, and certainly laid the authorities "open to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the heart," and I am glad to think that the handicap has become less severe of late years, now that India has been brought so much nearer, because I am still strongly of opinion that simultaneous examinations would be a fatal error and would end in a still more objectionable discrimination between English and Indian recruits than exists already.

The next authority quoted is Lord Lytton who uses rather stronger language on the same side, but is not, I think, a better authority on the construction of a document



than Lord Curzon. The Duke of Argyll also, reviewing what had been done up to 1869, thought we had not progressed fast enough, and that the single examination in London was unfair to Indian candidates. Then followed the Statutory Civil Service, a miserable compromise and backdoor arrangement, doomed to failure from its birth; and after many more years had been spent in wrangling we have at last got back to the only fair and honourable system of open competition in London, in which, if the Indians choose, they can easily secure the bulk of the appointments, and drive the bewildered Government into a new scheme for securing a fixed minimum of appointments for Europeans only! Even before the so-called Statutory Civil Service had been fairly started about a dozen Indians had adopted the far more excellent way of entering the service by open competition in England, and some of them have greatly distinguished themselves not only as judges but also in high administrative office.

On the whole case so far, I think it is quite fair to say that no Indian is disabled from holding any place for which he may be qualified "by reason *only* of his religion," etc. There are other reasons why he cannot hold every place under the Administration, the most obvious one being that a strong backing of Europeans is still absolutely indispensable. Whether the process of replacing Europeans by Indians in the service goes on as fast as it might with safety is a fairly debatable question, and, personally, I do not think it does; but I should not like to say it was "disgraceful" to think otherwise. That considerable progress has been made in the substitution of Indians for Europeans in the service is, I think, proved by Lord Curzon's Resolution in 1904; but it is also unfortunately true that qualified Indians are not always available for special appointments, especially in the educational and other technical services.

But the point now in dispute is not whether the Indians have been "disgracefully" treated by the authorities, but whether it is "disgraceful" to hold an honest opinion about

the construction of a document. The editor of *India* seems to agree with the editor of the *Indian Review* that it is, but he doesn't say so; he merely evades the issue.

Though I take the editor of *India* as an example of unfairness because in this case I happen to be the victim, I have no doubt his conduct is typical; and I find confirmation in the following extract from the *Humanitarian* for July: "It is not possible to answer them" (certain abusive charges by Mr. G. K. Chesterton) "in the *Daily News* (where they ought to be answered), because the editor of that paper *will not allow* Mr. Chesterton's criticisms to be criticized" (i.e., in the *Daily News*). And this is a leading *Liberal* paper! When will someone start another *Echo*, with its honourable motto, "Hear all sides"? I hope it wasn't that judicial impartiality that killed it.

There was, perhaps, never a more deliberate attempt to mislead than is contained in the following editorial note on p. 267 of *India* for May 29 last: "Certain Anglo-Indians," the editor politely says, "have been raging furiously together because of the saying of Mr. Keir Hardie that the taxes taken from the people of India, while nominally 50 per cent. of the yield of the land, were nearer 70 or 75 per cent. than 50 per cent. . . . But why do these gentlemen not mention that, in answer to questions in the House of Commons, Mr. Morley has stated that 50 per cent. of the net assets" (not of the yield of the land) "is the ordinary standard of assessment of the land revenue alone throughout India, and that in the Central Provinces the assessment" (on the landlord, not on the cultivator) "should be not less than 50 per cent. of the assets, and should not exceed 60 per cent.," etc.; that is, that the Government share of the crop paid by the actual cultivator (which has been estimated by good authorities at 4 per cent. of the yield of the land, as compared with Mr. Keir Hardie's 60 to 65 per cent.) is divided by the middleman or State-appointed tax-collector and the Government in proportions which vary from 50 to 65 per cent.; or, in

other words, that the "middleman" is allowed from 35 to 50 per cent. of the Government share for the trouble of collecting it; and this is perversely, and one cannot but say wickedly, described as an income-tax of from 10s. to 11s. 6d. in the pound. Unfortunately, one cannot give the editor credit for ignorance of the facts, for they have been pointed out frequently, and he has persistently refused to publish any corrections of his own and Mr. Keir Hardie's misleading statements. Mr. Keir Hardie's excuse is that he hasn't time to explain statements which, as they stand, are certainly far from being accurate. The editor of *India* hasn't even that excuse—"Certain Anglo-Indians" (among them myself) "have been furiously raging together" because of these "terminological inexactitudes," which the truth will never be able to overtake if the editor of *India* can prevent it.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

July 7, 1908.

#### MINERAL PRODUCTIONS OF INDIA DURING 1906.

The total value of the mineral output rose from £5,689,948 in 1905 to £6,312,818 in 1906. Coal shows an increase from 8,552,422 tons to 9,940,246 in 1906, the most marked advance being in the Jherria field, which now takes first place. The export of coal exceeded a million tons. Manganese shows an increase from 253,896 tons to 495,730 tons, so that the Indian output was larger than that of any other country. The production of mica was nearly doubled. Other minerals which showed a decided increase were precious stones, jadestone, tin ore, chromite, and saltpetre. — "Bulletin of the Imperial Institute, London," No. 2, 1908, p. 215.

## THE INDIAN BUDGET, 1908-9.

THE introductory statement on Finance, presented to the Legislative Council says: "The dominating feature of the present Budget is the famine, which unhappily is widespread over a large part of Northern India, and some other tracts elsewhere. The course of the monsoon during the autumn of 1907 bore some resemblance to those of 1896 and 1899, but on the whole the failure of the rains was less extensive, and the resultant distress is both more restricted in area and, with some local exceptions, less severe in intensity than on those occasions. Nevertheless, the calamity which has befallen the country is of no small magnitude. It extends, roughly speaking, to the greater part of the United Provinces, to the eastern districts of the Punjab, the northern half of the Central Provinces, some parts of Bengal and Bombay, and many of the Native States in Central India, besides isolated tracts in other Provinces. The area in which famine has been declared to exist is approximately 118,000 square miles in British India, and about 15,000 square miles in the States of Central India, and has a population of about 49,000,000. In these tracts the out-turn of the *kharif* crops over the whole of the United Provinces and the greater part of the distressed areas in other Provinces is a good deal less than half of an average crop, and in the worse tracts very much less. The distress would have been much more severe but for the fall of useful rain in September and October in Bombay, and but for the winter rains, which, though late, were of enormous benefit in Northern India. Even as it is, the export of wheat has been almost wholly stopped in consequence of the prevalent high prices in India, and a great part of the Burma rice crop, which was fortunately abundant, has been diverted to India to take the place of that which has been lost.

"The general situation is thus less serious than in 1897-98, or 1900-1, and the financial position is also stronger than in those years." "On the present occasion, although the

surplus of £774,600 for which we have budgeted last March is likely to be reduced to £235,400, we nevertheless hope, if the ensuing monsoon is normal, to secure much more favourable results in 1908-9, and I am able to estimate for a surplus of £571,500 at the close of the ensuing year, notwithstanding the very liberal provision for suspension and remission of revenue which is referred to in the Report."

In consequence of loss of revenue and increase of expenditure, the Finance Minister is not in a position in the present year to undertake any measures for the remission of taxation, or to embark on any schemes of administrative improvement involving considerable expenditure. On the contrary, the occasion is one for rigid economy and retrenchment wherever it can be effected. The amount of revenue, as estimated, is £73,438,900, expenditure £72,867,400. It is expected that there will be an increase of revenue on land, salt, stamp, excise, customs, and assessed taxes; and an increase of expenditure of the Civil Departments, the principal items of which are: Police, £301,100; medical, £280,000; and education, £183,200. The increased provision for education occurs partly in the two Bengals, but chiefly in the United Provinces, where extensive schemes of education improvement are on foot. There will also be some provision on behalf of public health. Hitherto comparatively little has been done in this direction, and it is sometimes made a reproach against us that no organized effort has been made to improve the sanitary conditions in which the people live. The continued prevalence of plague, and the special measures which have been concerted to combat it, have brought this question into exceptional prominence. In those measures there is reason to hope for the co-operation of the people in a degree which has not previously been attained; and notwithstanding the present pressing need for economy, we believe that it will be politic to give a tangible proof of our sympathy in the form of some special assistance from



Imperial funds. Apart from expenditure of this nature, which will not, we trust, be of a permanent character, there is room for almost unlimited outlay of the most beneficial description in reforming the sanitary arrangements of the larger towns. The necessity for financial assistance to enable these to achieve a sanitary standard less primitive than at present prevails, has been pressed upon us by more than one of the local Governments. We have therefore decided to allot a sum of 30 lacs per annum among the different Provinces for expenditure on sanitary improvements, with special reference to the prevention of plague. Each local Government will be at liberty to expend the money at its discretion, and to attack the problem in whatever way it prefers. The sums assigned to each of the Provinces are as follows, and it is a matter of regret to us that it has not been possible to make them larger :

					Rs.
Madras ...	...	...	...	...	3,50,000
Bombay ...	...	...	...	...	4,50,000
Bengal ...	...	...	...	...	4,50,000
United Provinces	...	...	...	...	5,00,000
Punjab ...	...	...	...	...	4,00,000
Burma ...	...	...	...	...	3,00,000
Central Provinces	...	...	...	...	2,00,000
Eastern Bengal and Assam	...	...	...	...	3,00,000
North-West Frontier Province	...	...	...	...	50,000

The following are details under separate heads of Revenue and Expenditure :

	REVENUE				£
1. Land ...	...	...	...	...	19,960,200
2. Opium ...	...	...	...	...	4,842,900
3. Salt ...	...	...	...	...	3,402,200
4. Stamps ...	...	...	...	...	4,361,700
5. Excise ...	...	...	...	...	6,392,400
6. Customs ...	...	...	...	...	5,000,300
7. Other principal heads	...	...	...	...	4,946,600

MINOR HEADS.				£
1.	Interest	...	...	1,014,600
2.	Post Office	...	...	1,912,100
3.	Telegraphs	...	...	1,037,900
4.	Mint	...	...	272,100
5.	Receipts by Civil Departments	...	...	1,140,600
6.	Miscellaneous	...	...	524,300
7.	Railways: Net Receipts	...	...	13,729,500
8.	Irrigation	...	...	3,640,300
9.	Other Public Works	...	...	244,500
10.	Military Receipts	...	...	1,016,700
Total Revenue				£73,438,900

EXPENDITURE.				£
1.	Direct demand on the Revenues	...	...	8,962,300
2.	Interest	...	...	1,734,800
3.	Post Office	...	...	1,815,600
4.	Telegraphs	...	...	1,094,600
5.	Mint	...	...	147,700
6.	Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments	...	...	14,037,300
7.	Miscellaneous Civil Charges	...	...	4,620,000
8.	Famine Relief and Insurance	...	...	1,531,200
9.	Railways: Interest and Miscellaneous Charges	...	...	11,323,000
10.	Irrigation	...	...	2,917,800
11.	Other Public Works	...	...	4,453,800
12.	Military Service	...	...	20,754,400
Total Expenditure: Imperial and Provincial				£73,392,500

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE CLARENDON PRESS; LONDON.

1. *The English Factories in India, 1622-1623*, by WILLIAM FOSTER. In this volume the loss to the Portuguese of the valuable possession of Ormus, through a combined attack of the Persians and English, is one of the chief events. In spite of the fact that no vengeance was taken on the East India Company, it did not escape scot-free, but had to disgorge £10,000 to the Duke of Buckingham, and the same to King James I., who wisely said, "Did I not deliver you from the complaint of the Spaniard, and do you return me nothing?" Complaints from Agra about the piracy of the English, however, were more serious, and led to imprisonments, flight of the English envoys, and the breaking up of the Agra factory and the concentration of all the factors at Surat. In this medley of negotiations it is curious to notice that in 1622 the Emperor Jahangir, who was then in the midst of family disputes, sent two lakhs of rupees to be invested in goods for the Red Sea, the proceeds to be given to the poor at Mecca. The business—and very complicated it was—of the Surat merchants takes up much of the book, and in 1623 we get some glimpses of the Italian traveller, Pietro Della Valle, who has left us an account of how the Indian factors fared. The Coromandel factories at the time covered by the present volume were two—Masulipatam and Pulicat—owning their allegiance to Batavia. Even before the "massacre of Amboyna" they were plunged in enmity against the Dutch. In 1623 occurred the visit of Prince Shah Jahan to Masulipatam. We learn that the chief, "after burying his cash-box in the garden for greater security . . . rode out with the deputation sent to greet His Highness, and the latter, he says, takinge some notice of me, repeating thrice over 'Englese,' gave mee a peece of his favor by a wagg of the

head," while his captains visited the English factory with the non-altruistic idea of trying its cellars. The introduction to this volume is, as usual, admirable, and helps one to unravel the tortuous policy and schemes in the records which follow it.—A. F. S.

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ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON.

2. *The Pulse of Asia*. A Journey in Central Asia, illustrating the Geographic Basis of History. BY ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON. Illustrated. At the same time that it is a record of a journey in Central Asia, the aim and object of this book, its fundamental and essential idea, is to describe certain parts of Asia in illustration of the great scientific principle that geography is in essence and reality the real basis of history. Except to scientists, this great truth—for it is a truth more than a principle—is little known. Yet every day the truth is coming home to us more and more. The fact that religion is an outcome of physical environment has been slowly recognized. So, too, if looked at from the right standpoint, it is obvious that the entire human sociological system, embracing every phase and feature of human action, has been moulded in the same way. It stands to reason, therefore, that geography must of necessity deal with every natural feature or element as a whole. The very name which in a scientific sense was unconsciously given to the science demonstrates this. But, unfortunately for human intelligence and education, which in the main is obscure and ignorant, the paramount importance of climate and of changes of climate in history and the allied sciences has never been fully realized. In some eighteen chapters, covering 388 pages, Mr. Huntington endeavours to drive the truth of this home to the reader; and it is certainly not his fault if he has not succeeded. Any misconception thereon can only be due to the reader's own obtuseness. For the facts that he brings forward in support of this great principle are sufficiently powerful. So, too, his arguments—or call them theories if you like—are

clear, his reasoning is lucid, his tone reasonable and rational; and, indeed, the whole tenor of his work convincing to a degree. Mr. Huntington's book should be read by every intelligent and aspiring soul, but especially by theologians of all classes, bigots, fanatics, dogmatists, and sectarians more particularly. The subject is fascinating and enthralling, and the author has handled it in such a way as to make it interesting, at the same time practically instructive. But to let the light in and throw it over the dense darkness of theology, more books of this nature are needed. For the theological dogmatist, like woman, is hard to convince against his will. The blind alley of faith is to him of more consequence than the living beauties of a beautiful but inexorable Nature that forms the solid foundation out of which the stern realities of human history have been carved and moulded.—A. G. LEONARD.

3. *The Natives of British Central Africa*. By A. WERNER. With thirty-two full-page illustrations. This volume is one of a series that aims at supplying in handy and readable form the needs of those readers who desire to know something regarding the life, manners, and customs, of the native races of our empire. But in addition to this worthy aim, its publishers have a still worthier motive in encouraging—or, rather, stimulating—the study of ethnology in a national, or still more in an Imperial, sense. A motive such as this speaks for itself. No motive could be higher. And the work of this particular volume is from a general or popular aspect in keeping with this excellent sentiment. To write about all the various peoples of British Central Africa, consisting of some ten principal tribes, and to describe their customs, laws, and entire social system, in fact, in a volume of 287 pages is a tall order. It means careful consideration, intelligent selection, and deliberate compression, but as well as this an easy and flowing style to make the fare palatable and attractive. All this Miss Werner has done, and well done. It is clear from the very beginning to see that she is in



complete sympathy with her task. Indeed, obviously it is not a task, but a labour of love. Not only has she lived amongst the people, but she is genuinely in sympathy with them. This has given her a knowledge of them, and an insight into their lives that otherwise would be unattainable. Whether she is describing their religion or their magic, their tribal organization and government, their traditions, folk-stories, or language, their industries and various social rites, their childhood and youth or adult life, or whether she is dealing with the Yaos or the Batonga, she is equally at home. Her chapters on native life, youth and childhood especially, are particularly interesting. Its one great fault is that there is not more of it.

Regarding her work from a purely ethnological basis, although much is wanting, yet, if one makes a comparison between the sociological system of these tribes and those of either Western or Southern Africa, there is enough to show that they are sociologically, if not ethnically, connected. So that Miss Werner is right in speaking of the difference between the Bantu and negroes of West Africa as being not so great as one had supposed. On the contrary, the difference is much less, or the connection is much closer, than any estimate which has yet been formed.

—A. G. LEONARD.

CROSBY, LOCKWOOD AND SON; STATIONERS' HALL COURT,  
LONDON.

4. *How to Learn Hindūstāni: A Guide to the Lower and Higher Standard Examinations*, by MAJOR F. R. H. CHAPMAN, Instructor in Hindūstāni at the Royal Military College, Camberley, etc. This work is admirably suited for the purpose for which it has been written and compiled, both for the military and the civil officers in India who have to pass colloquial tests in Hindūstāni to qualify their holding appointments.

The division of the work into six parts is a good arrangement, which very clearly and minutely explains the subjects

detailed in each, without entering too elaborately into any intricate explanations of the higher niceties of the language.

Parts I. and II. are specially clear, concise, and sufficient for the purpose for which the book has been written.

Part III., consisting of passages which have been actually set for examination, will thoroughly test the student's knowledge of the rules, etc., laid down and explained in the two preceding parts.

Part IV. is specially good and useful in enabling the student to acquire facility in reading the ordinary everyday written character in both the "Ta'liq" and "Shekasta" styles of writing.

Part V. contains a number of most useful everyday conversational phrases and lists of useful words, better selected than usually found in similar works of the same nature.

In Part VI. the Urdū reading lessons, etc., are well chosen, and written in good everyday Hindūstāni of the educated natives of Hindūstāni, understandable by all classes without an attempt at the higher "Zābān," or language used by the higher classes amongst themselves, or used in books largely interspersed with Persian words and derivatives.

The only objection I see in the work is the rendering of Urdū words or sentences in the printed English character, in which it is almost impossible in most cases to convey a correct rendering of the pronunciation of the words, and is apt to confuse the student at first, besides delaying the acquisition of the correct spelling of the words or sentences in the written character, which the sooner the eye is trained in recognizing, the greater will be the mastery and grasp of the language.—W. G. C. J. (*Colonel*).

JOHN LANE; THE BODLEY HEAD, LONDON.

5. *Big-Game Shooting on the Equator*, by CAPTAIN F. A. DICKINSON, F.R.G.S., with an Introduction by SIR CHARLES NORTON ELIOT, K.C.M.G., late Commissioner for British East

Africa. This volume of 285 pages on Sport in East Africa is written to help young sportsmen who go out to East Africa to find their way, and to locate the better parts in which sport may be had, as well as the various kinds of animals to be met with, and what to do to go in pursuit of them.

The author went North and to Laikipia with the new Masai Reserves Commission, and was able to get a good number of trophies, of which he gives vivid accounts. He also went out with the Anglo-German Boundary Commission, and met with a great deal of game on the border, which had never before been touched.

The book is an up-to-date guide to East Africa, where, at the present time, it seems to be the most popular paradise for the big-game shooter.

There is an eloquent introduction by Sir Charles Norton Eliot, who, although not a sportsman, bears witness to the extraordinary and almost incredible quantity of big game which East Africa contains. He says: "The country is open, and hence whatever game there is can be seen without difficulty, whereas in neighbouring countries, such as Uganda, it is hidden by forests and high grass; also legislation has intervened in time to stop the havoc wrought by the unrestrained energy of private sportsmen, and reserves of considerable extent have been established, within whose precincts no animal may be killed. The Uganda Railway passes through the best known of these reserves, and for almost one hundred miles the traveller may view from the windows of his railway carriage the surprising spectacle of large and beautiful animals which are rarely seen outside the Zoological Gardens, feeding freely and without fear, close to the railway track."

The volume contains seventy-seven beautiful illustrations from photographs taken by the author in his travels, and terminates with a list of rules and regulations adopted for the protection of game in the Protectorate.

—G. L.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON.

6. *Buddhism, Primitive and Present, in Magadha and in Ceylon*, by REGINALD STEPHEN COPLESTON, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta. Second edition. In our issue of January, 1893 (p. 261), we had the pleasure of writing a short notice of the first edition of this important and excellent work. The author was then the Bishop of Colombo. His note to the present edition is as follows: "The book has been entirely rewritten. Notice has been taken of such recent discoveries as have become known to the author; but the alterations are chiefly for clearness and better arrangement. In several cases, information which, though important, seemed to burden the text has been relegated to a note at the end of the chapter. These notes, it is hoped, will be found to be among the most interesting parts of the book." The indices of this edition are much improved, and are arranged under the following heads: (1) Subjects; (2) Proper Names; (3) Pali Words. Those who have read the first edition will peruse the second with the utmost pleasure. As we said in 1893, Dr. Copleston is candid, fair, and just in his work, and his wide experience in Ceylon, and acquaintance with its ecclesiastical literature, render him well qualified (and much more so now) to treat of his subject. The work, as we have said, is excellent throughout—in form, spirit, judgment, and learning.

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LUZAC AND CO.; 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON.

7. *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon*, by SAMUEL POZNANSKI, PH.D. This volume of about 100 pages contains a survey of the old controversy between the Karaites and the Rabbanites, brought down, after much patient research, to the present time. It consists of reprints from the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vols. xviii. to xx. The author gives "in chronological sequence (the opinions of) all the Karaite literary opponents of Saadiah known to him, including also those who only indulged in occasional

controversy against Saadiah. In any case this sequence (says the author) "cannot be quite exact, inasmuch as there are no data respecting the lives of many Karaite authors, or the data extant are much confused and mutually contradictory, or, finally, they are fabricated intentionally. In order to make this survey clear, therefore, the writer enumerates these authors according to the centuries in which they lived." He begins with the tenth, and ends with the nineteenth, century. There are also appended several learned additions and corrections. The work will prove useful to those who take an interest in this ancient controversy.

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MACMILLAN AND CO. ; LONDON.

8. *Impressions of India*, by SIR HENRY CRAIK, K.C.B., M.P. There are globe-trotters and globe-trotters, Sir Henry Craik being one of the better sort, and his little book one of the most reasonable. It is always useful to see ourselves as others see us; and when our critics are as generous and broad-minded as Sir Henry, the Indian official in these days has great cause to be thankful. In his very first letter he has something sensible to say about the "sympathy" which is so glibly required of us, and which, I venture to say, is much more general up-country even yet than is generally acknowledged. Unfortunately it is also true, as he says, that the up-country official nowadays has far too little leisure for friendly social intercourse with the people of his district. Even in my time it used to be part of the regular routine to compile statistics every now and then, which showed the overwhelming nature of the correspondence we had to attempt to cope with; and I remember one standing feature of our complaint was that on the average over 200 letters, etc., had to be dealt with every day (including Sunday), and that one solid hour of my time every day was occupied in merely reading them. Then, there was seldom less than an hour for hearing petitioners in person, so that six or seven hours' desk work



would be considered quite a light day's work, even if one was not occupied from eleven to five with some unusually troublesome criminal or departmental inquiry. I used often to wonder how other men got through the work, and was rather pleased to hear that my successor, one of the most strenuous men in the service, who had conducted the enormous business of the Board of Revenue as secretary for years, found it quite as difficult to get through the work.

It is particularly interesting to me, as a "ryotwari" man, and even a "land nationalizer," to see that Sir Henry devotes great part of a chapter to this interesting question, and recognises that "the basis of land tenure" (in India) "is undoubtedly socialistic, and that there exists a real nationalization of land." At the same time he is evidently not much in favour of real land nationalization. He probably never heard of Mr. Howard Campbell, or the remarkable paper published by him in the *Labour Leader* some years ago, in which, after twenty years' intimate acquaintance with the country as a missionary, he, a proclaimed Socialist, was forced to the conclusion that "there is no country in the world better governed than India," and that for the reason assigned by Sir Henry—viz., that the basis of land tenure is essentially socialistic. That seems a strange thing to say of a bureaucratic régime, but I believe it is absolutely true. "In India generally, except in Bengal" (where the State rights were unnecessarily alienated for ever), "the land is national property, the cultivators holding directly from the State" (or, as I should prefer to say, "in joint ownership with the State"), "and occupying their farms in perpetuity on payment of a rent (?) of from sixpence to four shillings an acre" (I suppose he means for the land alone, exclusive of water; *including the charge for water it averages less than two shillings an acre over the whole of India*). "There is communal grazing land attached to each village, and the land on which the village is built is also the property of the people" (or, perhaps, the joint property of the village and Government?). "There are consequently

*no ground rents*, and every man, however poor, owns his own house," and so on. The whole paper is well worth reading, and it is noteworthy that though *India* published criticisms of it by more than one indignant patriot, it never ventured to let the public see what Mr. Campbell himself said; it was much too complimentary to the Government of India.

"Socialists," says Mr. Campbell, "who look into the controversy on the land system which has taken place between the Government of India on the one hand and some Indian political reformers on the other, will be amazed to find the so-called reformers" (like Mr. Dutt, Sir Henry Cotton, and Sir William Wedderburn) "advocating the landlord system as found in Bengal; while the Government, with Lord Curzon at its head, stands up for national ownership and control. This is a very fair example of the attitude of the Indian political reformers. They look at things from the standpoint of the classes, and leave the interests of the masses entirely out of account."

From what Sir Henry says of small holdings, I doubt if he would altogether agree with Mr. Campbell as to the merits of the Government of India as a socialistic institution. He is evidently dreadfully afraid of the Sowear, or money-lender, and does not seem to see that the chief object of land nationalization (under which alone would any system of small holdings have any real chance of success) is the emancipation of labour. As the old Saxons said, "The landless man" (or the man who can't get land on reasonable terms if he wants it) "is a slave." Give him the opportunity of *renting* land on a fixed tenure, and a Government has done nearly all it can, though it might, of course, restrict the alienation of land as they have done in the Punjab. No Government can prevent a feckless man from borrowing unadvisedly, or from going bankrupt in due course. No money-lender can compel a man to raise money on mortgage, but no doubt agricultural banks might lend the cultivator the money that is really required for agricultural purposes on more reasonable terms than the private

usurer; and to hear the way money-lenders (who are, after all, in the absence of banks, an essential part of the agricultural economy) are denounced, one might think that the borrower was never responsible for his actions, and was actually compelled to enter the spider's web.

There is, no doubt, a good deal of foolish luxury in the capitals, but life up-country is (or was) really of the simple sort, and people are generally more intimate in a quiet and natural fashion than they are in England. Except in military stations, amusements in the evening are few and far between, and we don't often indulge in a theatrical performance such as seems to have delighted Sir Henry. It surprised him to find examples of humour at the expense of the natives themselves; but, in fact, there is no finer humorist than the Brahmin who has served an apprenticeship of years as a mimic, and can imitate anything under heaven with a skill that is almost miraculous. Many a hot and solitary night have I wiled away as an assistant by the aid of such a mimic; unfortunately, I never knew more than two, and that many years ago. They had their stock pieces, such as the railway-station for example, but could occasionally be induced to take off the Collector and the Judge in a realistic fashion that would have astonished those gentlemen if they could have been present unseen, and was a source of infinite satisfaction to me.

There is, I imagine, a good deal to be said for our author's pessimistic view of education as it is conducted in India, but I must leave that part of his book to an expert like Mr. James, and will only add that the little book is well worth the short time it takes to read. It is unfortunate Sir Henry did not see something of what Edward Lear called the most picturesque and characteristic part of India, Madras. It can hardly be doubted that he would have got better (even if hotter) "impressions of India" in the South.—J. P.

9. *The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia*, by B. L. PUTNAM WEALE; author of "Manchu and Muscovite,"

"The Reshaping of the Far East," and "The Truce in the East, and its Aftermath." With illustrations and a map. This book is the fourth and last of a series of political treatises dealing specially with the problem of the Far East, but more specifically from the aspect that the Russo-Japanese rivalry has been the mainspring of the events of recent years. As such it contains a carefully considered and well-weighed-out re-estimate of those forces in the Far Eastern situation as they unrolled themselves during the first half of the year 1907. The work is divided into three parts. These, as dealing with the three main factors in the situation—Russia, Japan, and China—are classified as follows:

Part I. is a description of that Greater Russia beyond Lake Baikal. Having travelled over the ground in the autumn of 1906, Mr. Putnam Weale gives us more than mere impressions of a great part of the country. The military, especially the strategic, element as the dominant factor in a militant empire looms largely. But besides being a keen observer of men and things, the author is a keen and intelligent student of political economy and history. Therefore, in describing Vladivostock, the Ussuri Railway, Khabarovsk and the Amur Province, Manchuria with its wonderful city of Harbin—that sturdy infant of but nine years old, yet veritable enigma amongst cities—he enters, very completely too, into all the principal questions—commercial, agricultural, and industrial—with which the future development of the country is intimately connected. It is a wonderful picture that Mr. Weale presents us with. A race characterized by nonchalance, thoughtlessness, and sloth—Russians and nothing else—yet a kind of Gargantuan behemoth, as unconquerable as ever, with a latent strength and an empire so full of natural resources that it is a world in itself. Unquestionably physical environment is the real foundation of all human effort and action.

In Part II., under the heading "The New Problem of Eastern Asia," he indulges in a concise but exhaustive

inquiry into the administration of Japan, her finance, industry, commerce, shipping, army and navy, as well as into the extension and expansion of her economic developments. Here Mr. Weale has, if anything, made even a more minute and critical analysis of everything Japanese, but especially of the main features of the policy and plan of campaign of the Mikado's Government since the conclusion of the great war. For it is obvious that, in spite of her Constitution and Parliament, the latter possesses no real control over the administration of the country, but that the real controlling power lies in the hands of the Genro, or Elder Statesmen, who form as it were the Emperor's Privy Council.

Part III., entitled "The Struggle round China," introduces us to the Pekin Government as it was in 1907, gives a description of Chinese railways and armaments, and that very important feature of "the internal condition of China." Having carefully considered these vital matters, Mr. Weale discusses in a very open and broad-minded manner the attitude of Europe plus Japan towards China; the position of England, also of the United States, with regard to the Oriental markets. Space prevents us from entering into even one of the numerous side-issues that radiate from the great central problem around which Mr. Weale's book has been written. But although, according to him, the main fact—that oligarchic Japan constitutes the new problem in the East—stands out distinctly and unmistakably, the part that China is going to take is another factor, which will have to be very carefully considered. For it is scarcely credible that, with the deep diplomatic and economic intelligence the Chinese undoubtedly possess, they will allow themselves to be made a mere cat's-paw of by either Japan or the great European Powers; or that they will tamely submit to their country being turned into a vast milking machine for the benefit of Madam Europa and Miss Japan.

Certainly, from a moral standpoint as much as in their



own interests, Great Britain and the United States should uphold the integrity of China at all costs.\*—A. G. LEONARD.

10. *The Story of the Guides.* By COLONEL C. J. YOUNGHUSBAND, C.B., Queen's Own Corps of Guides. With illustrations. London, 1908. The late Lord Sandhurst once said that the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force was the steel head of the lance that defended India, and if we may be permitted to pursue the metaphor, we may say that the Corps of Guides is the sharp point of this steel head. Colonel Younghusband's story is not on the usual lines of the typical regimental history, with its minute and generally tedious details of changes in organization, uniform, and place of garrison; it is a vivid narrative of the doughty deeds and famous feats performed by individual officers and men of the Guides in particular, and by the Corps in general, during fifty years of victorious wars.

The Corps owes its origin to Sir Henry Lawrence when he was the British Resident at Lahore after the conclusion of the First Sikh War. It consisted at first of one troop of cavalry and two companies of infantry, and was raised on the old irregular system, which, unfortunately, no longer finds a place in our Indian military administration, except in one or two isolated instances, such as the Khyber Rifles and the Waziristan Militia. The Guides have the unusual distinction of comprising cavalry and infantry in one corps—a rare distinction in these days, though the principle existed in the Roman Legion, and the name of "legion" has accordingly been applied to such mixed formations in modern times. Legions of light troops were added to the French Royal Army in the eighteenth century to encounter and foil the Imperialist Croats and Pandours, and these legions comprised a squadron of cavalry and a battalion of infantry, like the Guides at the present day.

\* This book should be carefully studied by every politician and statesman worthy of the name; for it is obvious that the author is not merely painstaking and statistical, but one who knows and understands his subject thoroughly and with keen political intelligence.

After the second Bourbon Restoration in 1815, Marshal Marmont re-formed the French Army in legions which included cavalry and infantry; but the experiment did not prove successful, and was abandoned for the old regimental organization a few years later. The Honourable Artillery Company of London until lately combined in one corps the three arms of the service, but its troop of light cavalry has now ceased to exist.

The first Commanding Officer of the Guides was Harry Lumsden, and their Adjutant was Hodson, afterwards of Hodson's Horse. Many of the most famous names in the annals of modern Indian warfare are to be found in the muster-rolls of the Guides, and many who have risen to high command in our Indian Army served their apprenticeship in their ranks. They were recruited from the wildest and boldest spirits of the ever-troubled marches between Hindustan and Afghanistan, and a noted outlaw was put to a better use than hanging by enlisting him in the Corps.

Rudyard Kipling is only stating a prosaic fact in poetical phrase in the line

"Yestreen he was but a Border thief; to-day he's a man of the Guides."

Regular pay, fair treatment, and the prospect of plenty of fighting and danger, attracted all the adventurous spirits of the Border side to a service which was free from the monotonous drills and the meticulous regulations of our regular regiments. The Guides were the first of our Indian troops to adopt khaki as the colour of their uniform, but our author has made a slip where he says that our soldiers at that time marched and fought in tight scarlet tunics, for the tunic did not form part of our military dress till some seven years afterwards.

The brilliant exploits of the Guides in the Second Sikh War, their surprise of the fortress of Govindghur, their conspicuous services in the Mutiny (including the famous march to Delhi), their incessant employment in raids and outpost work on the Indian frontier, form a record of con-

tinuous adventure and enterprise of which any regiment in any army might well be proud. Charles XII.'s defence of his house at Bender against the Turks and Tartars becomes an insignificant affair when compared to the defence of the British Residency at Kabul by seventy men of the Guides against overwhelming numbers of Afghan soldiers for twelve hours, the contest only terminating with the death of the last defender. To quote the words of the inscription on the memorial raised by a grateful Government at Mardan to these deathless heroes: "The annals of no army and no regiment can show a brighter record of devoted bravery than has been achieved by this small band of Guides."

The concluding chapters of Colonel Younghusband's graphic narrative are occupied with the deeds and services of the Guides in the Second Afghan War, the relief of Chitral, and the Malakand campaign of 1897. The final chapter describes the home of the Guides at Mardan, and the life of the officers and men in that military colony, which has now been in their occupation for more than fifty years. Pictures of the old graveyard and of the church at Mardan are among the photographs which embellish the volume, most of which show officers and men of the Guides in their different costumes and employments. There are portraits of British and native officers, and one group of thirty-four members of the Corps all decorated with the Star for Valour. The author of that clever novel "The Broken Road" made a great point of the fact that natives of India are not eligible for the Victoria Cross; but the fact is that when the decoration of the Cross was instituted the native Indian Army was not under the Crown, and had no part or lot in any of the rewards and honours of the British Army. But it already possessed its own Order of Merit, and the Honourable East India Company was not niggardly in the grant of medals and rewards—more liberal, indeed, than the Home Government of those days. In this group of twenty-four decorated officers and men are representatives

of no less than twelve distinct nationalities and tribes, a striking illustration of the composite character of our Indian Army.

Colonel Younghusband has not adopted the official style of spelling Romanized Indian words, and we light upon some awkward renderings—*e.g.*, Ressaldar for Risaldar, Khuttuck for Khattak, and puggery for pagri (turban). Afghan is in some places spelt Affghan, and the name of Sir Louis Cavagnari's assistant in the Residency at Kabul is spelt alternately Jenkyns and Jenkins. A stranger mistake is that Cavagnari's own name is persistently spelt Cavignari. This may be a printer's error, like the curious typographical blunder of "forty-five Sikhs" for "45th Sikhs" recurring at pp. 123 and 176.—T.

11. *The Truce in the East, and its Aftermath*, by B. L. PUTNAM WEALE. This long sequel to the author's "Reshaping of the Far East" is full of intelligently gathered facts on every phase of the Eastern question. The problems Mr. Weale treated of are many. The position of Japan in Korea and Southern Manchuria and the Japanese Government at home, the awakening of China and its relation to foreign intercourse, the British-Japanese alliance and its effect upon Russia, America, France, and Germany, are all dealt with at length and in a masterly manner, which it would need much more space than we have to detail and criticise. It is only necessary to say—the book has been, and will be, so widely read and discussed—that the Japanese establishment in Korea does not, as here described, read as a happy one for either conquerors or conquered. The author, while he in every way indicates how China is becoming enlightened (it took thirty days to get from Peking to the Yangtze terminus ten years ago, and now it takes thirty-six hours, as he points out), yet shows that there may be a set-back any day through civil war, and the peace that at present broods over the Far East may be a very temporary one. That a great cataclysm will, and must, come sooner or later, seems certain from the conflict-

ing interests of Japan, China, Russia, and Britain alone, and the predisposing causes in 1807 can, and should, be studied in this laboriously written book.—A. F. S.

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JOHN MURRAY; LONDON.

12. *Plagues and Pleasures of Life in Bengal*, by LIEUTENANT-COLONEL D. D. CUNNINGHAM, C.I.E., F.R.S. In this charmingly-illustrated book we have an account, in the first part, of every insect plague that Bengal life is heir to. Bees (who can sometimes be annoying, though busy), wasps, ants—those tropical ants who, Mark Twain says, “vote, drill armies, and dispute about religion”—white ants, bugs and fleas, spiders, beetles, leeches, snails, moths and butterflies. From intimate knowledge the author not only describes the manners and customs of each species of insect—for he “can tell you little facts about its wings, its antennæ, and its legs, how it hatches out its eggs, and a hundred other interesting things”—but he also can tell you (and does tell) the best cure for the plague, if any cure can be had. A very interesting chapter is one on “Fig Insects,” and this is followed up in an appendix on the correlation between the fig and the insects that infest it. The second half of the book is a charming series of chapters on an Indian garden and its contents at the different periods of the changing year. It makes one long to watch the Indian horticulturist in his pride, and so realize a more real reason than that generally advanced for calling India “the gorgeous East.”—A. F. S.

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DAVID NUTT; LONG ACRE, LONDON.

13. *The Meitheis*, by T. C. HODSON, late Assistant Political Agent in Manipur and Superintendent of the State; with an introduction by SIR CHARLES J. LYALL, K.C.S.I., LL.D., etc. (published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam). Illustrated. The writer, from his local experience and research and examination of the various authorities mentioned in his



bibliography, has produced a work of much interest, enhanced by chromo-lithographic and other illustrations. The tribe or race which he describes is found in the Native State of Manipur, which lies between latitude  $23^{\circ} 50'$  and  $25^{\circ} 30'$  north, and longitude  $93^{\circ} 10'$  and  $94^{\circ} 30'$  east, and consists of about 7,000 square miles of hill territory and of 1,000 square miles of level country, forming the broad valley to which the Manipuris have given the name Meithei Leipāk, or the broadland of the Meitheis. On the west its frontiers march with those of the British district of Cachar up to a point in the hills near which is the Naga village Maolong, from which the boundary line follows the River Barlāk, and then traverses the hills to Mao, where a natural frontier line begins again. The frontier touches Upper Burma, and passes along the western edge of the Kubo Valley. On the south the confines of the State touch the Chin Hills on the east, and Lushai Hills on the west. The Burmese call it Kathē, the Assamese Meklē, while, according to Colonel McCulloch, the Bengali name for the State is Moglai. Within the area of the State there is an immense variety of climate and scenery, which is only equalled by the variety of the types of mankind, a tribe or race of whom forms the subject of the present monograph. Tea is indigenous in the hills. Rubber grows in natural profusion. The teak timber represents the natural wealth of the State, whose limitations are as yet unascertained. Sport of all kinds is abundant. The author gives details of the Meitheis—their habits, villages, occupations, laws and customs, religious beliefs and forms of worship, traditions, superstitions and folk-*tales*, language and Meithei grammar. There are interesting appendices, a copious index, and an excellent map. Sir Charles Lyall closes his excellent introduction in these words: "The State has recently, after sixteen years of British administration, been committed to the government of the Prince who was chosen to fill the vacant throne after the events of 1891, and it is greatly to be hoped that

its future may be happy and prosperous, and that it may exercise an increasing influence in winning to civilization the wilder tribes which recognize its authority." The volume is exceedingly well got up, and will be read with much interest.

14. *The Mikirs*, from the papers of the late EDWARD STACK, I.C.S., sometime Director of Land Records and Agriculture, and Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Assam; edited, arranged, and supplemented by SIR CHARLES LYALL (published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam). Illustrated. 1908. The introduction of this volume gives a short account of the labours and career of Mr. Stack, and the method of arrangement of his notes and supplementary information by the editor. The Mikirs, as stated in the first chapter of the work, "are one of the most numerous and homogeneous of the many Tibeto-Burman races inhabiting the province of Assam," whose locality is shown in the map appended to the volume. According to the census of 1901, their number is 87,046, and those speaking their language 82,283. Section I. gives the characteristics of the race, dress, etc., which are exhibited by the coloured illustrations; Section II. describes their occupation, houses and furniture, hunting, fishing, and their food, drink, and luxuries; Section III. their laws and customs; Section IV. their religion, funeral ceremonies, and festivities; Section V. folk-lore and tales; Section VI. their language; and Section VII. the affinities of the Mikirs in the Tibeto-Burman family. The information of this little-known race is full of interest, and may be extended by further research and comparison with the habits and languages of other surrounding tribes. The volume is accompanied with a bibliography of five pages and a copious index.

PIONEER PRESS; ALLAHABAD.

15. *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by MAJOR J. W. HAIG. Two hundred and thirty-one closely-printed pages of

history are contained in this excellent book, as well as seven pages of carefully-compiled lists of the dynasties of the Yadavas of Deogir, the Khaljis, and the Tughlaqs of Delhi; the dynasties of Vijayanagar, and the Kings of Gujarat, Khandesh, Byapur, Golconda, Bidar, etc. To say that it is a mine of information upon the Deccan and its history is to say little. After an admirable introductory chapter upon the general history, we are given essays on Doulatabad, the tombs of Ranga and Golconda, on Warangal, two capitals of the Deccan, Gulbarga and Bidar, on Deccan fortresses, hill forts and battlefields, where East met West. The siege and defence of Golconda and the battles of the second Maratha war end this book, which is full of learning. The good writing adds to the historical value of this work, and anyone interested in the East will find it filled with "sad stories of the deaths of kings" and their followers well worth reading. Especially we draw their attention to the history of the Abyssinian slave Malik Ambar, who, in the Deccan, "kept the bad characters of that country in perfect order, and to the end of his days lived in honour," which is little known.—A. F. S.

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS, LTD., LONDON.

16. *From Edinburgh to India and Burmah*, by W. G. BURN MURDOCH. Mr. Burn Murdoch left Edinburgh for a tour in the East, and this work is the result. It is admirably printed on paper heavily weighted with China clay, and profusely illustrated. Bombay and its social pleasures, Bangalore and Madras, were visited, and some sport enjoyed before the author went to what he calls "Golden Burmah," whence he crossed the frontier to "wade into China," and then returned to India. Mr. Burn Murdoch is an artist, and the illustrations are therefore the chief part of his book. They include both hasty sketches and elaborate coloured views of the scenes he visited, and will give much pleasure to all who follow the course of his Eastern tour.—A. F. S.

T. FISHER UNWIN; ADELPHI TERRACE, LONDON, 1907.

17. *A Literary History of the Arabs*, by REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge, and sometime Fellow of Trinity College. To write a literary history of the Arabs in a concise and useful, and at the same time popular and attractive, form is by no means an easy task. In the first place, the very term "literary history" is in itself to some extent a contradiction—certainly confusing—upon which many various interpretations can be placed. Secondly, it is a decidedly difficult matter for a European, no matter how sound an Arabic scholar he may be, to interpret a world of thought which differs so palpably to his own. The world of Europe has produced but one Burton and one Vambéry. In the third place, there is the great, almost impossible, difficulty of selection, for it is even harder to select than to compose; and, again, there are limitations of time, space, and opportunity, which alone and of themselves are bound to cramp and so hamper the writer. Finally, there is the great and varied extent of ground to be covered—smooth, broken, undulating, rising here into sheer precipitous and unscalable mountains, falling there into bottomless gulfs and abysses—obstacles big and bold enough to make even the boldest student pause and consider. All these obstacles notwithstanding, Mr. Nicholson has produced an extremely readable and instructive book. It is certainly true, as he remarks, that the really vital aspect of literary history should deal with the historical development of ideas. After all, what is history—or what, at least, ought it to be—but a true and accurate account of all events—*i.e.*, all acts arising out of surrounding conditions and circumstances connected with the evolution or devolution of all human actions? For however separable into divisions or departments certain actions may be, they are in the main, whether religious, social, political, economic, warlike, or literary, associated one with the other. They are, in fact, in

a human, therefore historical, sense inseparable, because in a word association amounts to relation or kinship.

Certainly in this broad sense Mr. Nicholson has shown not only acumen, but sterling good sense. Not only has he supplied a great want—partially and inadequately it may be, because of enforced limitations—but in this way he has laid before the reader an intelligent and intelligible volume, which has put him in close touch with the political, intellectual, and religious notions of the period under survey. He has thus made it easier for the reader to get a complete grasp of what he is reading; for he has presented him with a document which, because it is in some measure historical, has brought it all the nearer and made it all the more true to human nature. At the same time, he has stuck more closely to the literary than to what is commonly known as the historical element. To use his own words, the work "is a sketch of ideas in their historical environment, rather than a record of authors, books, and dates." This, after all, is only as it should be, and in working it out Mr. Nicholson has succeeded admirably. The reason of this is obvious. The writer is himself interested in his subject. This in itself is a great matter. It is more than half the victory in either writing or criticizing a book. Sympathy is not only essential and natural, but its magnetism is magical. It is the key to success in everything human. In this way it is so much easier to interest others.

But there is another great merit in Mr. Nicholson's work. The basis on which he has worked is eminently—essentially, in fact—sound in spirit and in principle. Hence he has given us not his own European colouring of Arab thought, but the native view of it. Besides this, he has indicated as nearly as possible the influences which moulded their thought. This is indeed a great merit—one, in fact, of the chief merits of the book; this in itself is one of its highest recommendations—not merely because a critical account of Arabic literature is practically impossible, but



because the European outlook at anything outside its own sphere is invariably made through glasses of its own manufacture; because in the overweening egotism and conceit that he has of his own mental and moral superiority over the Oriental, the European is as a rule absolutely unqualified to criticize anything Eastern except from a European standpoint—*i.e.*, in a partial and unequitable manner. Just he may be in a legal, dry-as-dust sense, but never equitable from that wider and larger aspect of human sympathy; for justice and equity are two very different elements. Certainly both equity and sympathy are infinitely more natural. In no human sense is it possible to avoid or evade environment. No longer is it possible to dissociate religion from geography. But this rule applies quite as forcibly to any phase or element of human sociology, bound up as one is with the other, the disintegration of the parts forming the unity of the whole. Whether consciously or not, this is a feature that Mr. Nicholson has certainly recognized; indeed, the very nature of his work has brought this home to him. Judged from this aspect, it is not surprising that he has found it beyond the powers of any translator to reproduce a typical Arab ode in a shape at once intelligible and attractive to English readers. "Even in those very passages which seem best suited for the purpose, we are baffled again and again," he says, "by the intensely national stamp of the ideas, the strange local colour of the imagery, and the obstinately idiomatic style. Modern culture can appreciate Firdawsî, Umar Khayyam, Sa'di, and Hafiz: their large humanity touches us at many points; but the old Arabian poetry moves in a world apart; and therefore, notwithstanding all its splendid qualities, will never become popular in ours."

These are true and discriminating words, which strike deep down to the very roots of international differences. It is well that we in Europe have among us men like Mr. Nicholson, who are broadminded enough to appreciate these racial distinctions at their true value, and to see that

there are worlds of thought outside our own European sphere, which are not only apart, but worlds that are well worth looking into.

Certainly this Arabian world of thought is a world that all students eager for knowledge should enter into and study—not alone because the world of letters, like the world of humanity, is our common heritage, but because to the European it is a new and wondrous environment, a spectacle teeming with wonders and novelties, springing as it did out of a grim and sterile environment of its own—one chiefly of sand, rocks, desert, and mountains, burning days and glamorous nights—but which, with a magnetism peculiar to itself, assimilated and absorbed other fertile influences, such as the Persian, the Indian, and the Grecian. A truly weird but wondrous conglomeration; a feast with nectar thrown in for all the universal gods; a world that lies altogether outside the conception or imagination of even the most imaginative European. Only those who have traversed the deserts of Africa and Arabia, and who have lived in Bedouin encampments; only those who, like Burton, are able to detach themselves from the dogma and conventionalities of Christendom, can form the faintest conception of what a world of unrestrained freedom and gargantuan entertainment it is. To such alone can the feast of poetical, philosophical, historical, and metaphysical matter which Mr. Nicholson has given us in his work appeal. For while to them the matter is intelligible and beautiful with a beauty of its own, to the ordinary student it but brings to pass "full many a wonder, whereof the lesson he must ponder." In a word, this very entertaining book is an Open Sesame to a hidden but amazing world of Semitic enchantment. It is the lamp of Aladdin that reveals the hidden treasure.—A. G. LEONARD.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Outlines of Mahâyâna Buddhism*, by DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI. (Luzac and Co., London.) In the preface the author states "that the object of this book is twofold: (1) To refute the many wrong opinions which are entertained by Western critics concerning the fundamental teachings of Mahâyâna Buddhism; (2) to awake interest among scholars of comparative religion in the development of the religious sentiment and faith as exemplified by the growth of one of the most powerful spiritual forces in the world." With this view he divides Buddhism into three great classes—the north, the south, the east—and under these classifications the numerous sects which are found in those respective spheres. To help us to acquire a dispassionate comparison of religions and the analogy of divisions, he cites the divisions to be found in the various sects of the Christian faith. The author's qualification for such a task may be judged from the following travesty. He says: "Jesus of Nazareth, as instigator of a revolutionary movement against Judaism, did not have any stereotyped theological doctrines such as were established later by Christian doctors. . . ." "Take, for example, Christianity. Is Protestantism the genuine teaching of Jesus of Nazareth? or does Catholicism represent His true spirit? Jesus Himself did not have any definite notion of Trinity doctrine."

*Present-Day Conditions in China: Notes designed to show the Moral and Spiritual Claims of the Chinese Empire*, by MARSHALL BROOMHALL, B.A., Editorial Secretary, China Inland Mission. (Morgan and Scott, Ltd., 12, Paternoster Buildings, London, E.C.) By striking diagrams and maps, figures and statements, the editorial secretary has clearly shown the vast amount of work before the Evangelical missionaries, and the opportunities of greatly extending operations in consequence of the changing conditions of the people of the great Chinese Empire.

*A Siamese-English Dictionary*, by B. O. CARTWRIGHT, B.A. Cantab., Assistant-Master Suan Kulap English School, Bangkok, 1907. (Agents: Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.) The author has produced this handy dictionary at a moderate price. The other Siamese-English dictionaries are only two—that of Bishop Pallegoix, a large work, and a smaller one by Michell, now out of print. The present work follows the natural Siamese order, and differs from them in many particulars. The type is clear and distinct. We hope the author will meet with such encouragement as to enable him to produce a second edition.

*The Eighth Financial and Economic Annual of Japan*, 1908. (Government Printing Office, Tokyo.) This annual report, with an excellent map of Japan, is exceedingly well got up. The maps, diagrams, and tables show at a glance revenue and expenditure, and the economics in the various departments of the Empire, imports and exports, agriculture and industries, population, wages, banking, railways and other means of communications, also particulars about Formosa and Korea. There is given also a useful table of weights, measures, and moneys, with English and French equivalents. The imports from Great Britain are larger than from any other foreign country, being 5,517,596 yens; China, 4,465,696 yens; United States of America, 3,295,558 yens; other countries insignificant.

*The Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. iv. (Parts II. and III.: Bangkok. Issued to members March and April, 1908), (Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London.) Part II. contains an interesting paper by Mr. A. J. Irwin on "Some Siamese Ghost-Lore and Demonology," and Part III. contains a most interesting essay by Mr. E. P. Dunlap on "The Edible Bird-Nest Islands of Siam." These islands are not numerous, and are mostly confined to the Indian Ocean north of Madagascar, and eastward to the east and west coasts of the Siam Malaya Peninsula, down to the Malay Archipelago and some of

the tropical islands of the Pacific. The author of the paper confines himself mainly to the Choompou region. He describes the birds, their habits and nests, and commercial value in the Chinese market. We rejoice to see that this society is continuing its interesting work, and hope it will receive liberal support.

*Letters from an Egyptian to an English Politician upon the Affairs of Egypt*; with an Introduction by JOHN M. ROBERTSON, M.P. (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London.) These letters were written three years ago, and are now published with a sympathetic Introduction by Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P., with the view of drawing the special attention of the British public to certain reforms connected with social, educational, political, and administrative questions. The author seems to take the same lines as the co-called Nationalists of Ireland: "Egypt for the Egyptians."

NEWNES, LTD.; STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

*Strand Magazine*. A glance at the names of celebrated authors whose contributions have appeared in this magazine during the last quarter (July, August, and September) will give a good idea as to the interesting articles contained therein.

*Fry's Magazine*. This periodical for the same period has also provided some most interesting reading.

*Grand Magazine*. In these numbers of this magazine there are many stories which will interest and amuse the reader.

The *Wide World* still continues to supply its readers with stories and articles which always prove interesting as well as instructive.

*The Anglo-Russian Literary Society (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) Proceedings, May, June, and July, 1908.* (Printed for the Society.) Among other interesting papers is one by the Rev. R. S. Latimer on the life and evangelistic work of Dr. Baedeker (a wealthy medical man, converted under the Christian work of the late Lord Rastock)



among the prisoners in Russian prisons. So much confidence was placed in his earnestness, sincerity, and ardour, in addressing those either in prisons or in exile, that the gates and doors of all Russian prisons and fortress-prisons were widely open to him, and the inmates were eager to receive his teachings. Mr. Latimer says: "The like of it, as far as I know, has never been known before in any country under the sun, and will probably never be known again." This was owing to the "growth of years of watchful knowledge, and of deep impression of his high-mindedness, discretion, and Christly devotion. That confidence was never abused."

*Journal of the Gypsy-Lore Society*, July, 1908 (6, Hope Place, Liverpool), Vol. II., No. 1. This number, as previous numbers, continues to contain several interesting articles of gypsy-lore and letters and notes of this old race. The notice of the Transylvanian gypsies, by Mr. Joseph Pennell, is accompanied with five illustrated sketches, drawn by himself.

*Livingstone College Year-Book*, 1908 (Leyton, London, E.); also *Address on Commemoration Day*, June 29, 1908, by SIR PATRICK MANSON, K.C.M.G., M.D., etc. The Year-Book, in addition to a report of the work of the session 1906-1907, contains a summary of the latest discoveries in tropical medicine. Dr. Manson sums up his admirable address as follows: "In the majority of instances [of tropical diseases] climate has nothing to do with them. Heat and moisture, and so on, while they make you feel languid and spoil your appetite and increase your thirst, do not cause disease." The causes are found in flies, which he describes, and which are well illustrated: "If the causes are removed the diseases will disappear. . . . If we abolish the mosquito, or if we prevent it biting people, we shall avoid malaria, yellow-fever, and elephantiasis. If we avoid the tick, relapsing fever will disappear. If we avoid the tsetse-fly, we shall get rid of sleeping sickness. If we take care to destroy the ova of the ankylostomum that produces anæmia, we shall abolish another disease. And so on. I could go through

the whole list and show that tropical diseases are not climatic, and are therefore avoidable."

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—C. B. Fry's *Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), May, June, and July, 1908 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Hindii* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and London);—*Corporation of the Church House: Twentieth Annual Report*;—*The Encyclopædia of Islam*, No. 2;—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*.

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: Hertske's *China Treaties*, vols. i. and ii., third edition (Harrison and Sons, London);—*The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, by Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal (Luzac, and Co., London, 1908);—*Cults, Customs, and Superstitions of India*, by John Campbell Oman, D.LIT. (T. Fisher Unwin, London).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Acts of sedition by editors of many newspapers, and meetings of a seditious nature, have occurred in many places throughout India during the last quarter. The chief leaders have been tried and punished by fines, imprisonment, transportation. In consequence of this an Explosive and Press Offences Act was passed by the Government of India. At a meeting in Calcutta the Mohammedans congratulated Lord Minto upon the passing of the Act, urged him to enforce the same with a firm hand, and assured him of their assistance in the suppression of these anarchical and other seditious disturbances. Similar resolutions were passed in the Deccan and other districts of India by Princes and members of communities who wished at the same time to express their sincere and unflinching loyalty to the Government.

Demonstrations having occurred from day to day in Bombay, and strikes and riots, the Governor of Bombay issued a proclamation on July 28 to the effect that the Government wished it to be known that designing persons were spreading false rumours in the city, which were misleading the public and resulting in disorder and loss of life. The Government did not desire to force persons to resume work, but the resumption of work was most desirable in the interests of everyone and the city. The Government was prepared always to consider petitions against legitimate grievances, but would deal severely with rioting and unlawful assemblages, and expected all loyal citizens to assist in restoring order, peace, and prosperity.

The inhabitants of the province of Behar presented a manifesto signed by several thousands of the most influential men on August 11 to the Governor of Bengal. The signatories of the manifesto expressed their desire to dissociate the Beharis from the anarchical propaganda in Bengal, and expressed their regret that the movement

should have manifested itself in their province. They would support the Government in suppressing all such actions, while at the same time they declared that the Beharis shared all reasonable and legitimate aspirations for reform and progress.

The long-considered scheme for constructing a solid granite dam across the narrowest portion of the Hanna Valley, six miles north-east of Quetta, and at a thousand feet higher elevation, so as to form a lake for irrigation purposes, has at last been sanctioned, and the work is to be commenced immediately. The dam is expected to take three years to complete, at an average annual expenditure of five to eight lacs of rupees.

The Government has accepted an offer from the Maharana of Udaipore to raise a body of Imperial Service Cavalry, a squadron of which will be enlisted forthwith.

A Mohammedan meeting at Bombay, on September 1, passed a resolution respectfully offering sincere and heartfelt thanks to King Edward for the religious toleration and public liberty enjoyed by the Mohammedans of India under his benign Government.

The leadership of the Parsis having become vacant by the death of the fourth Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the fifth Baronet, has been appointed President to succeed and conduct the affairs of the community.

The number of persons in receipt of State relief in India during the past quarter has greatly decreased. Good rains have fallen in many districts, and the prospects continue favourable. The monsoon rainfall during the quarter has been normal.

The King has been pleased to make the following Indian appointments on the occasion of His Majesty's birthday :

K.C.S.I.—His Highness Raj Rajeshwar Maharaja Dhiraj Sardar Singh Bahadur of Jodhpur; His Highness Raj Rana Bhawani Singh of Jhalawar; Raja Tasadduk Rasul Khan of Jahangirabad, Oudh; C. S. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.

officiating Lieutenant-Governor, Eastern Bengal and Assam; E. N. Baker, Esq., C.S.I., ordinary member of the Council of the Governor-General.

C.S.I.—Mr. Sayyid Husain Bilgrami, member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India; M. F. O'Dwyer, Esq., officiating Resident, Hyderabad; J. S. Meeson, Secretary to Government of India, Finance Department; G. W. Shaw, Esq., Judicial Commissioner, Upper Burma; W. A. Inglis, Esq., Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government of Bengal (P.W.D.), and a member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; R. E. Younghusband, Esq., Commissioner, Lahore Division.

K.C.I.E.—Honorary Colonel Nawab Muhammad Aslam Khan, Sardar Bahadur, C.I.E., Honorary Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty the King; 5th Bengal Cavalry (retired); Nawab Afsar-i-Jang Afsar-ud-Daula Bahadur, Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Muhammad Ali Beg, C.I.E., M.V.O., of Hyderabad; Thomas H. Holland, Esq., Director of the Geological Survey of India.

C.I.E.—Rai Sahib Diwan Daya Kishen Kaul, Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu; A. G. Bourne, Esq., Director of Public Instruction, Madras; A. M. Ker, Esq., member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; Captain George Hayley-Hewett, R.N., Hon. Aide-de-Camp to the Viceroy; E. H. Radice, Esq., Magistrate and Collector, Benares; Lieutenant-Colonel J. Binning, Commandant 2nd (Presidency) Battalion Calcutta Volunteer Rifles; Lieutenant-Colonel F. F. Perry, I.M.S.; Major Francis G. Beville, Political Agent, Bhopawar; M. Filose, Esq., Chief Secretary to His Highness Maharaja Scindhia of Gwalior; R. B. Hughes-Buller, Esq., Magistrate and Collector, Bokharganj.

NEW BARONET.—Sir Jehangir Cowasji Jehangir of Bombay.

NEW KNIGHTS.—Vithaldas Damodar Thakarsi, Esq., additional member of the Council of the Governor of



Bombay for making Laws and Regulations; G. H. Sutherland, Esq., Sheriff of Calcutta; Mr. Justice R. F. Rampini.

KAISER-I-HIND MEDAL.—Sri Appala Kondayamba, Maharaja Kumarika Sahiba of Vizianagram; W. Egerton, Esq., Magistrate and Collector, Darbhanga; Mrs. D. King, lately of Calcutta.

Sir James Thomson, K.C.S.I., takes the place of Sir Phillip Hutchins, K.C.S.I., whose term of office has expired as a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India.

General Sir C. H. Brownlow, of the Indian Army, is now made a Field-Marshal.

Mr. Abdur Rahim, barrister-at-law, Calcutta, has been appointed Puisne Judge of the High Court of Madras, in the room of the late Mr. Justice Boddam.

Lieutenant-General Sir Edward G. Barrow, K.C.B., Indian Army, is now a Lieutenant-General on the Staff in India vice General Sir A. Gaselee, G.C.I.E., K.C.B.

Mr. W. L. Harvey and Sir Guy Fleetwood have become members of the Council of the Governor-General of India in room of Mr. J. F. Finlay and Mr. E. N. Baker. The latter has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

NATIVE STATES.—The Bikaner Durbar has passed an Explosive Act on similar lines to that of the Government of India. The example is being followed by other States to prevent anarchist operations within their boundaries.

A Press Act was passed in Mysore on August 5, to become law thirty days after its first official appearance. It provides that no newspaper shall be edited, printed, or published within the State without the written permission of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja, and that such permission may at any time be withdrawn. Any offender against the Act may be ejected from the State and his press confiscated.

The Prime Minister of Nepaul, who has been on a visit to England, before leaving on July 22 expressed himself as follows:

"I have thoroughly enjoyed my visit; that I was sure I should do, for your country and mine are sworn allies.

"Remember, thousands of my people are in your Indian Army; we have fought side by side on many occasions, and my own army is ready to render you help again if it should ever be needed. You can therefore understand what a great pleasure it has given me to see for the first time the country with which mine has been so long connected by these ties of friendship.

"But there has been something more for which I was not prepared, and which I have felt very deeply—that is, the great kindness and sympathy which have been so universally extended to me and to my staff by all whom we have met: by their Most Gracious Majesties the King and Queen, by their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, by the Officials of the India Office, and by the people of Great Britain.

"Wherever we have gone, we have found everyone anxious to make us feel we were friends. I have been able to-day to personally thank their Majesties the King and Queen, and I want to, and do, thank the British people for all their kindness and friendship. I return to my country with most pleasant recollections.

"Yours is a great country. I have seen with admiration your splendid fleet, and am proud that it is the fleet of our ally; but to me the greatness of your country is best seen in the good it has done for our great neighbour India—in the peace, security of lives and property, justice, and numerous other benefits it has given to that country.

"So I take my leave, with the wish that God may prosper the people of this country and their work, and by again saying how much I and my people have enjoyed the kind hospitality which has been so freely extended to us, and for which we are all so thankful."

On his arrival home at the beginning of September a grand Durbar was held at Katmandu in honour of his return. He presented to the Maharaja Dhiraj, as the titular Sovereign of the country, an autograph letter from the King-Emperor. While it was being read a salute of twenty-one guns was fired, and at the end the National Anthem was played. The Prime Minister has been appointed to be a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath.

FRONTIER.—In connection with the recent Zakka Khel and Mohmand disturbances on the frontier, the King has given promotions, decorations, and appointments to the Order of the Star of the Indian Empire. He has also ordered a new medal to be struck to commemorate military operations on the frontier. The medal, bearing the effigy of

His Majesty, takes the place of the India General Service Medal, 1895, with a clasp, "North-West Frontier, 1908."

To prevent an illicit traffic in arms to Afghanistan, it was decided in April last to send 600 men of the 126th and 127th Regiments, with three Maxims, from Quetta to Robat, on the Baluchistan Frontier, and to strengthen the small garrison of 200 men. The Persian Government also sent two forces. The British troops were not to act unless the smugglers attempted to cross British territory. Two caravans with arms passed into Afghanistan almost untouched. At the end of May a caravan of 200 loaded camels and 100 Afghans got clear after a conflict with the Persians by escaping over a difficult pass under cover of darkness. Another caravan of 2,700 camels and 750 men came into contact, at Dastak, with the Persian infantry, and captured two officers. The force marched unchecked, doing considerable damage to the telegraph lines and poles, and carrying off two linesmen who had been sent to repair the damage.

Another unexpected raid occurred in August on the Abazai section of the Peshawar Frontier by the malcontent section of the Mohmands. The loyal sections were unable to control them. Due precautions are being taken to prevent serious inroads, and Colonel Sir George Roos Keppel was sent to Peshawar to deal with this unexpected development. It is intended to appoint a political officer to deal solely with Mohmand Frontier affairs.

The Khaibar Pass has been opened again to trade, and the Ameer has given instructions to the Dakka officials to act as formerly in order to prevent friction in the neighbourhood of Landikhana.

Three raiders were killed in an attack on Tiarzamulla post in Southern Waziristan on June 7; one of them was identified as Mianji Abdurrahmann, a notorious raider. This man was expelled from his tribe, and he then organized a series of raids culminating in the murder of the servants of Mr. Crump, the political officer at Wana, in March last.

The trade returns from the Quetta-Nushki route for the past year show a great improvement, the total being 23½ lacs—a net increase of 86 per cent. over those of the previous year.

AFGHANISTAN.—It is estimated that 30,000 to 40,000 rifles, with a large amount of ammunition, have been smuggled into Afghanistan during the current year. The trade is likely to continue on a large scale unless Muscat is brought within the zone of prohibition as a result of the Brussels Conference.

The Ameer has fined and otherwise punished the tribesmen who participated in the recent frontier fighting. The villagers were ordered to furnish a list of offenders.

PERSIA.—Persia during the last quarter has passed through very troublous times. Tabriz has been the scene of fighting between Royalists and anti-Royalists under Sata Khan. The town has been besieged and many people have been killed. The poor were compelled to live on fruit as a means of existence. The fighting continues from day to day, but as we go to press it is reported that the anti-Royalists changed their tactics, having ascertained that Ain-ed-Dowleh's force is daily increasing, and their financial difficulties may prevent them continuing the revolutionary disturbances. The inhabitants have appealed to the Shah. An identical British and Russian note has also been presented to the Shah, drawing his attention to these and other disturbances in the provinces, and especially to the danger caused to the lives and property of foreigners in Tabriz. The note urgently recommends that the Shah should issue his promised proclamation relating to the elections as soon as possible, with the view of reassuring the people as to his determination to maintain the Constitution, and that he should summon the new Mejliss to meet at the earliest possible date. The Parliament will assemble on October 1.

In regard to the incident by some Persian subordinate officials surrounding the English Legation at Teheran and

committing certain acts of disrespect, His Majesty the Shah made an ample apology to the British Ministers on July 1, which was cordially accepted.

The situation on the Turco-Persian Frontier, and in the district of Urumiah, owing to the Khurdish depredations and the annexation of portions of Persian territory, has assumed grave aspects. It is alleged that most of the depredations were committed by Turkish Kurds, with the help of the Turkish military authorities. The British and Russian Consulates made representations to the Turkish Commissioner, and the British and Russian Chargé d'Affaires have also drawn the Porte's attention to the matter, and urged that orders should be sent to restrain the Kurds, and recall the Turkish force within the frontier zone, and thus prevent further violations of Persian territory. The Porte replied denying that the Turkish troops had overstepped the frontier zone, but stated that orders had been sent to recall any detachment which may have done so, and to restrain the Kurds from committing depredations.

With regard to the Turco-Persian Frontier Commission which was constituted some months ago, and has been sitting at Urumiah, it is stated that its investigations have been delayed by a difference of opinion as to the treaty by which the frontier delimitation must be based. The Persian Government base their claims on the Treaty of Erzerum, concluded in 1847, while Turkey is understood to appeal to a treaty concluded between Persia and the Sultan Murad IV. in 1639.

Mr. G. H. Barclay, C.V.O., C.M.G., Councillor of His Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, has been appointed to be His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Teheran.

PERSIAN GULF.—The result of successful smuggling of rifles and ammunition in the Persian Gulf, which has been going on, on a very extensive scale, irregular sales of arms have taken place in various towns of Afghanistan, apart from the traffic with frontier tribes. The continuance of such



smuggling will cause a formidable increase in the offensive strength of Afghanistan, and will make future tribal insurrections more dangerous.

**TURKEY IN ASIA.**—The inauguration ceremonies of the opening of the Hedjas Railway from Damascus to Medina took place on September 1 by the Grand Mufti of Damascus at Medina amid great enthusiasm. It is intended to extend this railway to Mecca, with a *détour* to the coast at the seaport of Rabigh. A further short line from Jiddah to Mecca is also in contemplation. The line will eventually be linked up with the Bagdad Railway when that line has been carried across the Tarus Mountains.

The Turkish Commission has withdrawn from Urumiah without effecting anything, but has forcibly occupied the country up to the west shore of the Lake Urumiah. The Turks now claim the Maku and Suj Bulak districts, and they have appointed a new Commission at Urumiah in place of the one which was withdrawn.

**ABYSSINIA.**—The Emperor Menelek has nominated as his successor Lidj Eyassu, a son of Ras Mikhael and the Emperor's daughter.

**CHINA.**—An edict has been issued containing fourteen clauses, which set forth the qualifications for membership of the projected Constitutional Assembly. The qualifications, though based in the same measure and on a democratic principle, are limited, and selective power remains with the Emperor.

**JAPAN.**—A new Cabinet has been formed, with the Marquis Katsura as Premier. Mr. Kato has been appointed Ambassador to Great Britain, and Yojiro Shibata, Attaché, Baron Hayashi, the Japanese Minister in Peking, has been appointed to the Rome Embassy, and is succeeded by Mr. Ijuin, late Councillor of Embassy in London.

The Ya-lu forestry agreement was signed at Tien-tsin on May 16, having previously been signed at Peking on behalf of China.

The revenue collected for the last fiscal year exceeded

the estimates by 62 million yen (£6,200,000). After adding to this the unspent appropriations, there will be about £8,000,000 available for transfer to the current year's revenue.

SIAM.—A national fund is being raised to commemorate the King of Siam's reign of forty-one years—the longest reign in the history of Siam. The fund will be devoted to the erection of a statue to the King, and if there be any surplus, it will be handed over to His Majesty to be expended for public purposes. The Crown Prince is acting as President of the Committee of the fund.

CEYLON.—Lieutenant-Colonel J. Lewes, Royal Garrison Artillery, has been appointed Ordinance College, the Royal Garrison Artillery, Ceylon, in succession to Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. B. Davidson, who goes to Bombay.

The total revenue for the first half of the current year approximates Rs. 17,021,905, being Rs. 778,094 short of the estimate. 189,000 acres in Ceylon are planted with rubber. Tea and rubber are interplanted over 60,000 acres, and cocoa and rubber over 12,000 acres.

AFRICA: CAPE COLONY.—Mr. Merriman's Budget was presented at the end of June. It anticipates a deficiency of £901,000, which is to be met by lowering the base of the income-tax to £50, and by a variety of stamp duties. The sinking fund is to be suspended, and 5 per cent. is to be deducted from the salaries of Civil Servants and of Members of Parliament. There was a deficiency of £996,000 on the revenue for the last financial year, instead of a surplus of £38,000, as estimated. The revenue for 1908-1909 is estimated at £6,777,480, and the expenditure £7,679,241.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The Legislative Council unanimously passed the Education Bill on its second reading on August 19, after a compromise had been effected, whereby children may be exempted from learning the English or the Dutch language. No education officer can be dismissed on account of not knowing Dutch.

TRANSVAAL.—Dinuzulu was on July 31 committed for trial charged with treason, sedition, public violence, the murder of Gence (a native doctor, formerly employed at the Usatu kraal, murdered on April 5, 1908), with inciting to murder Gence and Mapoyisa, and with contravention of the Firearms Act.

NATAL.—The reconstruction of the Natal Ministry has been completed, Lieutenant-Colonel Greene becoming Minister of Railways, and Mr. Ollff taking the office of Treasurer.

RHODESIA.—A measure has been introduced in the Rhodesia Legislative Council providing for a system of Asiatic registration similar to that enacted in the Transvaal, but with certain modifications.

CONGO FREE STATE.—On September 9 the Belgian Senate by a large majority adopted the Treaty of Cession of the Congo Free State and the Colonial Law, which is to regulate the Government of the country.

The Commission which for eighteen months investigated the question of the disputed frontier between British East Africa and the Congo State completed its labours in June.

MOROCCO.—Mulai Hafid, the pretender to the throne of Morocco, after defeating his brother Abdul Aziz, fled to Settat, and was proclaimed Sultan. At a meeting of the mountain chiefs he declared that there would be no change in the Moorish policy, and that the provisions adopted at Algeciras would be strictly observed.

AUSTRALIA: COMMONWEALTH.—Lord Northcote, the Governor-General, who has retired, was entertained at a farewell banquet at Sydney on September 4, and left on September 11 amid great regret. Lord Dudley, his successor, arrived at Brisbane on September 6, and landed at Sydney on the 9th in the presence of 20,000 spectators. The usual receptions were held, and the prescribed oaths taken amid many signs of popular rejoicing. Lord Dudley delivered a short speech, expressing his deep conviction of the loyalty of the Australians to the throne.

The revenue for the year ending June 30 last was £15,014,000, an increase of over £2,000,000 on that of the previous year. The expenditure amounted to £6,156,000, as compared with £4,989,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The Legislative Assembly has approved the resumption of possession by the State of 100,000 acres of the Peel River Estate at Tamworth for closer settlement.

The revenue for the year ending June 30 was £13,960,763, being an increase of £568,308 on that of last year.

VICTORIA.—The revenue for the year ending June 30 was £8,270,000, a decrease of £37,099. The Budget for the same period shows a surplus of £430,000, which will be applied to the reduction of debt.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the year ending June 30 amounted to £3,660,000, exceeding by £560,000 the treasurer's estimate. This is £460,000 above that of previous years. During the season ending February last the State produced 2,933,350 bushels of wheat from 280,549 acres, against 174,783 bushels from 30,266 acres in the previous season. There has been an increase of 169,033 cattle and 354,107 sheep for the same period.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the year ending July 31 showed an increase of £309,009, as compared with the previous year.

NEW ZEALAND.—A Maori Congress of representatives of the native race opened at Wellington on July 17 in the presence of the Governor, the Chief Justice, and the Premier. Lord Plunkett, in opening the Congress, urged the Maoris to rid themselves of the old idea that to secure justice the wisest course was to appeal to King Edward, instead of to the Government of New Zealand. Sir J. Ward said there had never been such a gathering since the Treaty of Waitangi. The Congress prophesied the dawn of a new day, and a brighter future for the Maoris. The natives had shown that they were able to take their places in law, medicine, the public service, as farmers, tradesmen, and in

numerous industries. It was becoming recognized that the salvation of the natives was only possible by engaging in labour.

CANADA.—The Prince of Wales arrived at Quebec on July 22 for the Tercentenary celebrations, and was met by the Governor-General, who presented him to Sir W. Laurier and other members of the Dominion Cabinet. The celebrations began on July 23, when an address from the City of Quebec was presented to the Prince of Wales. His Royal Highness made a very sympathetic reply. On the 24th the Prince, accompanied by the Governor-General and Lord Roberts, reviewed the Regulars, Militia, Volunteers, and detachments from the British, French, and the United States squadrons on the Plains of Abraham. After the review the Prince presented to Lord Grey the sum of £90,000 which had been collected by British citizens in all parts of the Empire, and by French and American sympathizers, for the acquisition of the battlefields of Quebec for the people of the Dominion. Congratulations poured in from all parts of the world. On the 25th the great Naval Review was held by the Prince, when he made a tour of the assembled warships. In the evening the Prince was present at a dinner at the Citadel to the representatives of the Colonies. On the 27th His Highness made a visit to a typical French Canadian village, dating back from 1779—St. Joachim, twenty miles down the St. Lawrence. Before the Prince left for Joachim, he was waited on at the Citadel by Mr. Fraser and Mr. Murray, the Governor and Premier respectively of Nova Scotia, and Mr. Fielding, the Federal Finance Minister, who asked His Highness to convey to the Princess a beautiful fur cloak as the gift of the people of Nova Scotia. The garment was made in Nova Scotia. The Prince, after attending a garden party on July 28, given by the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, took farewell of the Governor-General and Lady Grey, and started on his return journey to England on July 29, and reached home on August 3.



Earl Grey, the Governor-General, has been appointed a member of the Privy Council.

Sir Charles Alphonse Pelletier has been selected to succeed Sir Louis A. Jetté as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec.

The Dominion Government has concurred in the proposal of the United States for the reservation of a strip of land 60 feet wide on each side of the Canadian-Alaskan boundary as neutral territory, and similar efforts are to be made for a like reservation along the whole length of the 1,900 miles of international boundary not comprised in the water boundary.

A forest fire broke out in the Province of Vancouver, B.C., at the beginning of August. It spread over an area of 100 square miles and destroyed the town of Fernie. Several other towns were gravely imperilled. About 200 persons lost their lives, and the destruction to property was great, as well as to the rolling stock of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—A *modus vivendi* in regard to the fisheries question has been concluded with the United States. The Government of Newfoundland have expressed their desire that the herring fishery should be conducted during the ensuing season on the same principles as in the season of 1907, and have given a formal undertaking to permit during this year the conduct of the fishery as last year. The United States Government, while not abandoning the use of purse-seines, but reserving that question for consideration in the impending arbitration before the Hague Tribunal, accept, with this reservation, the above proposal. His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States unite in regarding the Exchange of Notes recording this proposal and its acceptance as constituting in itself a satisfactory agreement for the season of 1908 without the necessity of a more formal arrangement.

WEST INDIES.—Lieutenant-General Frederick Walter Kitchener, C.B., has been appointed Governor and Com-

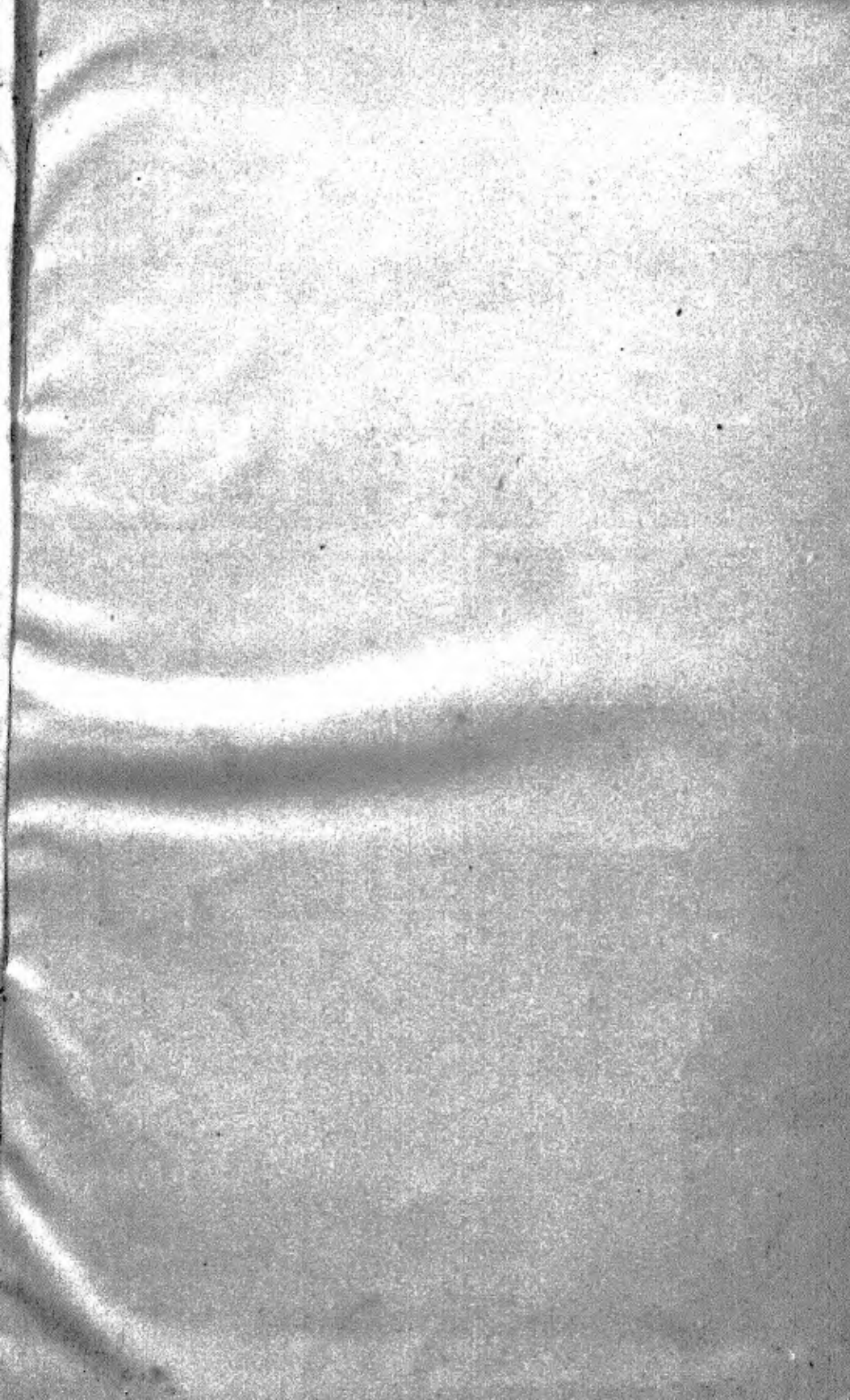
mander-in-Chief of Bermuda, in succession to Lieutenant-General Wodehouse, C.B., C.M.G., who will command the Northern Army in India.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Lieutenant-General Sir Adam George Forbes Hogg, K.C.B. (Persian campaign 1857, China war 1860, Afghan war 1879-80);—Major L. C. Dundas (Afghan War 1878-80, Burmese expedition 1885-87);—Captain Hector Stephen Jacob;—The Raja of Suket;—Sir William Robert Burkitt, C.S., late Puisne Judge of the High Court, Allahabad;—Thomas Lambert Hinton, retired surgeon, M.R.C.S., of the First Bengal Fusiliers (Old East India Company's Service);—Henry Tilson Morgan, I.C.S.;—Major Arthur Francis Bruce, Political Agent, Gilgit, Kashmir;—Colonel Horatio Biden, Madras Staff Corps (retired);—Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.;—His Highness Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Mulkan Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.;—Charles Edward Chapman, J.P., late Bengal Civil Service;—Robert Scott Moncrieff, late of Calcutta;—John Humphrey Thelwall, of Assam;—Frederick William Bond, Major-General Royal Artillery (Madras);—Charles Davies, late Hon. East India Company's Service and Civil Service;—A. R. Browning, formerly Inspector-General of Education, Central Provinces, India;—Robert Hosier Baker, late of Bombay;—Colonel E. L. M. Evans, late Madras Staff Corps;—Richard Fenwick Thorp, M.L.C.E.;—Alfred Herbage, H.M. Indian U.C.S.;—Major-General H. A. Justice, Indian Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny);—Major-General Alexander Andrew Bruce (Punjab campaign 1848-49, North-West Frontier expedition 1852-53);—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lonsdale Hallewell (Egyptian expedition 1884, Nile expedition 1885, Zululand 1888);—Laurence Leo Dunne, I.C.S.;—John Mangles Lewis, late Bengal Civil Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Frederick Brydges;—Major Henniker, Bart., 60th Rifles (commanding Jubbulpore);—Major-General Henry Archibald McNair, formerly of the 12th Bengal Cavalry;—Robert Lidderdale, M.D., Brigade Surgeon H.M. Indian Army;—Major-General Sir Thomas Maunsell, K.C.B. (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Major-General John Heron Maxwell Shaw Stewart, R.E. (Chinese campaign 1860, at one time Chief Secretary P.W.D. Government of Madras, and a member of the Madras Legislative Council);—Colonel Sir Harold Arthur Deane, Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General in the North-West Frontier Province;—Major C. Marriott (Crimea 1854, North-West Provinces, 1857-58);—Colonel Denis Carey, East Lancashire Regiment (Chitral Relief Force 1895);—Colonel C. B. Wickham (Afghan war 1878-79);—Colonel George Henry Robinson, late 1st Goorkha Rifles (Afghan war 1878-80, Hissarik and Lughman Valleys expeditions, Sikkim expedition 1888);—Brigadier-Surgeon M. G. Jones (Jowaki campaign 1877, Afghan war 1878-80);—Lieutenant-General H. A. Little, C.B.

(Crimea, North-West Frontier 1863-64, Afghan war 1880-81, Burmese expedition 1886-87);—Lieutenant-General Thomas Netherton Harward, R.A. (Indian Mutiny);—Major Frederick McDowell, R.A.M.C. (North-West Frontier 1897-98, Boer war 1900-1902);—Major F. M. Dew (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Major-General Charles John Moorsom (Sevastopol, Fenian raid in Canada, served in Rawal Pindi District, Punjab 1895-99);—Major George E. E. G. Cameron (Chitral relief expedition, Tirah expedition 1897-98, South Africa);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. M. Stewart, Indian Army;—Major-General George W. Cole, 41st Madras Light Infantry (East India Company), and late 1st Madras Light Infantry;—Major-General James Gunter (Crimea 1855, China war 1860);—Lieutenant H. B. Barker, 11th Mahrattas;—Prince Fatch Singh Rao, son and heir of the Maharaja Gaikwar of Baroda.

*September 14, 1908.*



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